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CORRESPONDENCE
OF
WILLIAM PITT,
EARL OF CHATHAM.

EDITED BY

WILLIAM STANHOPE TAYLOR, ESQ., AND
CAPTAIN JOHN HENRY PRINGLE,

EXECUTORS OF HIS SON,

JOHN, EARL OF CHATHAM,

AND PUBLISHED FROM

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IN presenting to the Public the fourth and concluding volume of this Correspondence, the Editors desire to acknowledge that they have been much indebted to Mr. Wright, editor of the Parliamentary History of England, &c., for the able assistance which he has afforded them during the progress of this work through the press. The extensive acquaintance with the annals of this country, which that gentleman possesses, added to an indefatigable spirit of research, peculiarly qualify him to furnish the requisite information, to illustrate its political history.

December, 1839.



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PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF STATE,

From Nov. 1770, to May, 1778.

Lord Chancellor.

1771. Jan. 23. Henry, Lord Apsley. Succeeded, as Earl Bathurst, in 1775.

First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

1770. Feb. 10. Lord North.

President of the Council.

1767. Dec. 23. Earl Gower.

Lord Privy Seal.

1771. Jan. 12. Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire.
— May. 18. Duke of Grafton.
1775. Nov. 4. Earl of Dartmouth.

First Lord of the Admiralty.

1771. Jan. 12. Earl of Sandwich.

Principal Secretaries of State.

1768. Oct. 21. Earl of Rochford, *vice* the Earl of Shelburne.
1770. Dec. 19. Earl of Sandwich, *vice* Lord Weymouth.
1771. Jan. 22. Earl of Halifax, *vice* Earl of Sandwich.
— June 12. Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, *vice* Earl of Halifax.

1772. Aug. 14. Earl of Dartmouth. Colonies.
 1775. Nov. 10. Lord Weymouth, *vice* Earl of Rochford.
 — Lord George Sackville Germain, afterwards Viscount
 Sackville. Colonies.

Master-General of the Ordnance.

1763. Marquis of Granby.
 1772. Viscount Townshend.

Treasurer of the Navy.

1770. Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart.
 1777. Welbore Ellis, Esq., afterwards Lord Mendip.

Secretary at War.

1765. Viscount Barrington.

Paymaster-General.

1768. Richard Rigby, Esq.

Joint Postmasters-General.

1768. { Lord Le Despencer.
 { Earl of Sandwich.
 1770. { Lord Le Despencer.
 { Hon. H. F. Thynne.

Speaker of the House of Commons.

1770. Sir Fletcher Norton, knt.

Master of the Rolls.

1764. Sir Thomas Sewell, knt.

Attorney-General.

1771. Jan. 23. Edward Thurlow, Esq., afterwards Lord Thurlow.

Solicitor-General.

1770. Mar. Edward Thurlow, Esq., afterwards Lord Thurlow.
 1771. Jan. 23. Alexander Wedderburn, Esq., afterwards Lord Lough-
 borough.

Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

1767. Oct. 14. Viscount Townshend.
 1772. Oct. 30. Earl Harcourt.
 1777. Jan. 25. Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant.

1768. Sir George Macartney, afterwards Lord Macartney.
 1772. Sir John Blaquiere, K.B.
 1777. Sir Richard Heron.

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Pembroke Hall, Cam-
bridge.
- XXIX. Marquis of Rocking-
ham.
Duke of Richmond.
Thomas, second Lord
Lyttleton.
Captain Alexander
Hood; afterwards
Lord Bridport.
Rev. John Lettice.
David Garrick, Esq.
Sir Guy Carleton K. B.;
afterwards Lord Dor-
chester.
Major Caldwell.
Charles, Marquis of
Granby; afterwards
Duke of Rutland.
Lancelot Brown, Esq.
Dr. Addington.
Philip, second Earl
Stanhope.
Charles, Viscount Ma-
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Hayes Sept 22. 1777,

How can I employ my reviving
Gen so well as by addressing a
few lines to the ~~Hope~~ Lord Comfort
of my life, my dear William?—
My Hand begins to
demand repose: so a dear

Chatham

Dear Father, will I hope believe that nothing could make
me more happy than his kind and pleasing letter, and is
just as I said, that it's flattering contents must incite me
to labor in Manly Virtue and Useful Knowledge that
may be on some future day worthy to follow in
the glorious example always before my eyes.

Pembroke Hall Oct: 15th. 1773.

William Pitt.

He promises fair indeed to be one of those extraordinary persons
those eminent ^{parts}, equalled by as eminent industry continue in a
progressive state throughout their lives. James B.

Gorkingham Richmond. Jr.
Lynton ~~Heath~~
John Lettice D. Garrick.
Guy Carleton
Henry Caldwell
Wm. L. Melbourn

Your most obliged, Faithful,
& Affectionate. Humble Servant,
A. Addington. —

Your most affectionate
and most obedient humble Servant,
Stanhope.

Believe me ever, my Dearest Lord,
your most Dutiful and affectionate Son

M. L.

My Lord

Spring Garden

10 Dec: 1772

And it is great deal harder to make
proper answer to your Lordships
wishes, than to execute any orders I
ever received from you. -- I am more
pleased with your thinking me a free
Liberty than with all the rest. I am
to the bottom and you may depend
on it. I think the Country can have
no glory without it. Chas. Townsend

Craven Street

Ms. B. 3. 75.

My Dear Franklin presents his best Respects to Lord Sandwich, with many Thanks to his Lordship and Lord Bisham for the Communication of so authentic a Copy of the Motion Dr. J. is filled with Admiration of that truly Great Man! He has seen, in the Course of Life, sometimes Eloquence without Wisdom, and often Wisdom without Eloquence: in the present Instance he sees both united, and both, as he thinks, in the highest Degree

32
London. 2^d January 1768.

Lord.

If I were to give way to the sentiments of respect & veneration which I have always entertained for your character or to the warmth of my attachment to your person, I should write a longer letter than your Lordship would have time or inclination to read. But the formation, which I am going to lay before you, will, I hope, make a short one not unworthy your attention. I have an opportunity of knowing something, & you may depend on my veracity

private & secret.

to be opened by Lord Chatham only.

not secret.

London. 14 January. 1772.

I will not presume to trouble Your Lordship with any assurances,
however sincere, of my respect & esteem for your Character, and
admiration of your Abilities. Retired & unknown, I live in the shade,
& have only a speculative Ambition. — In the warmth of my
Imagination, I sometimes conceive, that, when Junius exerts
his utmost Faculties in the fervor of his Country, he approaches ne-
arly to that exalted Character, which Lord Chatham alone fills up
& uniformly supports in Action.

Private

To the Earl of Chatham

J M A L L S.

Most Respectfully,
 Faithfully & Affectionately
 Yours H. Halecraft
 P. S

A Servant has just brought the enclosed
 which contains such very material intelligence
 that I enclose it for your Lordships perusal

Enclosure on the Hand Writing of Sir Philip Francis

—H—
 21. April. 1770.

Some very alarming Intelligence is arrived this day, by
 a ship's sent express from North America. I have seen
 no letters, but I have the following particulars from

very good Authority. —

Pray let me have Notice of the Day of Lord
Chatterney Motion. — Wilkey will be there.

20. August. 1804.

My present intention is to
visit You about the 10th of next Month
on perhaps a little sooner. And so
dear Children Farewell Francis

The following is my Direction. Copy it exactly

Philip Francis Esq^r
Gothic St^{ee}

M.P.

Mr. Wilkey

JUNIUS.

SIR P. FRANCIS

Advice and ashamed Advice and ashamed
 Bench but be brought Bells but be brought
 Chatham Concern Chatham Concern
 Court of Conduct Court of Conduct
 Day dear direction Day dear direction
 Esteem expected Esteem expected
 For from following For from following
 Government gain Government gain
 Have hear his Have hear his
 January 14th inclosed January 14th inclosed
 King know killed King know killed
 Lord a little last Lord a little last
 Mr. may ministers Mr. may ministers
 My measures My measures
 Motion make most Motion make most
 North not to be North not only
 Nothing nor has Nothing nor cause
 never not making never not the

disguised Hand - Writing of
Writing of SIR PHILIP FRANCIS.

JENKINS

SIR P. FRANCIS.

On of which one
the Court of King's Bench
Party proposed

Quarter quite
Right receive read
Some sub sent
Should be set you
The taken that the
The than time to
Under voracity
We were with the
which would well
Will written
You in your youth
The city the not

private.

de-

On of which one
the Court of do
Party proposed

Quarter quite
Right receive read
Some sub sent
Should be set out
The taken that the
The than time to
Under very
We were with the
which would well
Wilkes written
You of your youth
I that I cannot

P. F.

de

The last Spark of Sundry apt. But great many
 repetition is now sitting aishce, & he is delivered over &
 History, where his fame will be immortal

I have the honor to be with the
 highest respect & attachment

Y^r. & Lady's most Obedt. &
 Faithfull Serv^t.

Camden

June 11. 1778
 Camden Place

CORRESPONDENCE,

&c. &c.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Pall Mall, Thursday, 10 o'clock, p. m.

[November 22, 1770.]

LORD CHATHAM begs to know how Mr. Calcraft does. If this finds him in town and well, it will give great pleasure in Pall Mall, if he will be so good as to call there to-morrow morning about ten. The object is to consult the means of bringing about properly a meeting and conversation upon the present state of things, between Mr. Wedderburne⁽¹⁾ and Lord Chatham, in order to an explicit understanding of intentions, as to future views, which Mr. Wedderburne's past pretensions may naturally give him.

The debate in the Lords⁽²⁾ indifferent enough! How was it in the House of Commons?

(¹) See Vol. III. pp. 357, 475.

(²) A debate on the seizure of Falkland's Island, by order of the King of Spain, had this day taken place in the House of Lords, on a motion of the Duke of Richmond, for copies of the papers received by ministers, between September 1769 and September 1770, touching any hostilities commenced, or de-

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, Sunday, 3 o'clock.
[November 25, 1770.]

A THOUSAND thanks to you, my dear Sir, for the obliging favour of your letter, with the interesting

signed to be commenced by the Crown of Spain, or any of its officers, against any part of his Majesty's dominions. The noble duke asserted, that the hostile intentions of the Spaniards were not limited to the claim of Falkland's island, as appeared by their preventing the departure of the garrison and ships' crew immediately after the capture of the place; and that three thousand British seamen were then prisoners in ports belonging to Spain, having been taken out of merchant ships by guardacostas, and condemned to perpetual slavery, or confinement. Lord Weymouth and the Earl of Hillsborough contended, that the production of the papers would embarrass a negotiation already in a prosperous train; descanted on the delicacy and punctiliousness of Spanish honour, and insisted that ministers had conducted themselves with prudence, vigour, and vigilance. The following elaborate report of the speech of Lord Chatham upon this occasion is from the pen of Sir Philip Francis, who was present at the debate. In 1813, forty-three years after it was delivered, he revised and corrected it for the Parliamentary History of England.*

The Earl of *Chatham* said:—

"I rise to give my hearty assent to the motion made by the noble duke: by his grace's favour, I have been permitted to see it, before it was offered to the House. I have fully considered the necessity of obtaining from the king's servants a communication of the papers described

* Sir Philip Francis's report of Lord Chatham's speech on the 9th of January will be found in vol. III. p. 368. Another version of this speech is given in the recently published "*Memoirs of the Life and Times of Mr. Grattan*," vol. i. p. 230, stated to have been "*taken at the time*," by that right honourable gentleman himself. In this there must be some blunder; for, on turning to p. 151. of the same volume, we find Mr. Grattan, on that day, instead of being occupied at Westminster in taking Lord Chatham's speech, writing in *Dublin* to his friend Mr. Day, acquainting him, that "he should soon be in London, as he was tired of Dublin, with all its hospitality and all its elaret."

enclosures it contained. Mr. Wedderburne's answer is every thing I could wish ; nothing can be more

in the motion, and I am persuaded that the alarming state of facts, as well as the strength of reasoning, with which the noble duke has urged, and enforced that necessity, must have been powerfully felt by your lordships. What I mean to say, upon this occasion, may seem perhaps to extend beyond the limits of the motion before us ; but I flatter myself, my lords, that if I am honoured with your attention, it will appear that the meaning and object of this question are naturally connected with considerations of the most extensive national importance. For entering into such considerations, no season is improper ; no occasion should be neglected. Something must be done, my lords, and immediately, to save an injured, insulted, undone country. If not to save the state, my lords, at least to mark out, and drag to public justice those servants of the crown, by whose ignorance, neglect, or treachery this once great flourishing people are reduced to a condition as deplorable at home, as it is despicable abroad. Examples are wanted, my lords, and should be given to the world, for the instruction of future times, even though they be useless to ourselves. I do not mean, my lords, nor is it intended by the motion, to impede, or embarrass a negotiation, which we have been told is now in a prosperous train, and promises a happy conclusion." [Lord Weymouth here said—I beg pardon for interrupting the noble lord, but I think it necessary to remark, that I have not said a single word tending to convey to your lordships any information or opinion, with regard to the state, or progress of the negotiation. I did, with the utmost caution, avoid giving the least intimation upon that matter.] —“I perfectly agree with the noble lord. I did not mean to refer to any thing said by his lordship : he expressed himself, as he always does, with moderation and reserve, and with the greatest propriety. It was another noble lord, very high in office, who told us he understood that the negotiation was in a favourable train.” [Earl of Hillsborough.—I did not make use of the word train. I know the meaning of the word too well. In the language from which it was derived, it signifies protraction and delay, which I could never mean to apply to the present negotiation.] —“This is the second time that I have been interrupted. I submit it to your lordships, whether this be fair and candid treatment. I am sure it is contrary to the orders of the House, and a gross violation of decency and politeness. I listen to every noble lord in this House with attention and respect. The noble lord's design in interrupting me is as mean and unworthy, as the manner in which he has done it is irregular and disorderly. He flatters himself that, by breaking the thread of my discourse, he shall confuse me in my argument. But, my lords, I will not submit to this treatment. I will not be interrupted. When I have concluded, let him answer me if he can. As to the word

flattering to me, or mark a better general disposition in him. The rest, further explanation and ex-

which he has denied, I still affirm that it was the word he made use of; but if he had used any other, I am sure every noble lord will agree with me, that his meaning was exactly what I had expressed it. Whether he said course or train is indifferent. He told your lordships, that the negotiation was in a way that promised a happy and honourable conclusion. His distinctions are mean, frivolous, and puerile. My lords, I do not understand the exalted tone assumed by that noble lord. In the distress and weakness of this country, my lords, and conscious as the ministry ought to be how much they have contributed to that distress and weakness, I think a tone of modesty, of submission, of humility, would become them better; *quædam causæ modestiam desiderant*. Before this country they stand as the greatest criminals. Such I shall prove them to be: for I do not doubt of proving to your lordships' satisfaction, that since they have been entrusted with the conduct of the King's affairs, they have done every thing that they ought not to have done, and hardly any thing that they ought to have done.

"The noble lord talks of Spanish punctilios in the lofty style and idiom of a Spaniard. We are to be wonderfully tender of the Spanish point of honour, as if *they* had been the complainants, as if *they* had received the injury. I think he would have done better to have told us, what care had been taken of the English honour. My lords, I am well acquainted with the character of that nation, at least as far as it is represented by their court and ministry, and should think this country dishonoured by a comparison of the English good faith with the punctilios of a Spaniard. My lords, the English are a candid, an ingenuous people; the Spaniards are as mean and crafty, as they are proud and insolent. The integrity of the English merchant, the generous spirit of our naval and military officers, would be degraded by a comparison with *their* merchants or officers. With their ministers I have often been obliged to negotiate, and never met with an instance of candour or dignity in their proceedings; nothing but low cunning, trick, and artifice. After a long experience of their want of candour and good faith, I found myself compelled to talk to them in a peremptory, decisive tone. On this principle, I submitted my advice to a trembling council for an immediate declaration of a war with Spain.* Your lordships

* The following memorandum, in the handwriting of Lord Chatham, and dated September 18, 1761, contains the advice alluded to: — "Mr. Wall has declared, in a paper delivered to the Earl of Bristol on the 28th past, that the memorial which M. de Bussy presented here, by order of his court, concerning the disputes of Spain with Great Britain, was a step taken with 'the

change of sentiments will not fail immediately to ascertain. You are, after your usual goodness,

well know what were the consequences of not following that advice. Since, however, for reasons unknown to me, it has been thought advisable to negotiate with the court of Spain, I should have conceived that the great and single object of such a negotiation would have been, to have obtained complete satisfaction for the injury done to the crown and people of England. But, if I understand the noble lord, the only object of the present negotiation is to find a salvo for the punctilious honour of the Spaniards. The absurdity of such an idea is of itself insupportable. But, my lords, I object to our negotiating at all, in our present circumstances. We are not in that situation, in which a great and powerful nation is permitted to negotiate. A foreign power has forcibly robbed his Majesty of a part of his dominions. Is the island restored? Are you replaced in *statu quo*? If that had been done, it might then, perhaps, have been justifiable to treat with the aggressor upon the satisfaction he ought to make for the insult offered to the crown of England. But will you descend so low? will you so shamefully betray the King's honour, as to make it a matter of negotiation whether his Majesty's possessions shall be restored to him or not? I doubt not, my lords, that there are some important mysteries in the conduct of this affair, which, whenever they are explained, will account

full consent, approbation, and pleasure of his Catholic Majesty.' The said French memorial specifies three points of dissention, which subsist between England and Spain: 1st, The restitution of prizes taken on the subjects of Spain, during the present war; 2d, liberty to the Spanish nation of fishing on the bank of Newfoundland; 3d, the destruction of the English establishments formed on the Spanish territory, in the Bay of Honduras; and farther declares, that if the Catholic king should, on account of these disputes, determine on war, his most Christian Majesty is engaged to take part therein. This unjust and unexampled proceeding of the court of Spain, by enforcing her demands on England through the channel and by the compulsion of a hostile power, denouncing eventually future war in conjunction, while Spain was still professing amity and friendship with Great Britain; and the full declaration and avowal, at last made by the Spanish ministry, of a total union of councils and interests between the two monarchies of the House of Bourbon, are matters of so high and urgent a nature, as call indispensably on his Majesty to take forthwith such necessary and timely measures as God has put into his hands, for the defence of the honour of his crown, and of the just and essential interests of his Majesty's people. It is, therefore, most humbly submitted to his Majesty's wisdom, that orders be forthwith sent to the Earl of Bristol to deliver a declaration, signed by his Excellency, to the above effect, and to return immediately to England, without taking leave."

infinitely kind to think of a journey to town ; which seems by no means necessary on this account.

for the profound silence now observed by the King's servants. The time will come, my lords, when they shall be dragged from their concealments. Their are some questions, which, sooner or later, must be answered. The ministry, I find, without declaring themselves explicitly, have taken pains to possess the public with an opinion, that the Spanish court have constantly disavowed the proceedings of their governor ; and some persons, I see, have been shameless and daring enough to advise his Majesty to support and countenance this opinion in his Speech from the throne. Certainly, my lords, there never was a more odious, a more infamous falsehood imposed on a great nation — it degrades the King's honour — it is an insult to Parliament. His Majesty has been advised to confirm and give currency to an *absolute falsehood*. I beg your lordships' attention, and I hope I shall be understood, when I repeat, that the court of Spain's having disavowed the act of their governor is an *absolute, a palpable falsehood*. Let me ask, my lords, when the first communication was made by the court of Madrid, of their being apprised of their taking of Falkland's Islands, was it accompanied with an offer of instant restitution, of immediate satisfaction, and the punishment of the Spanish governor ? If it was not, they have adopted the act as their own, and the very mention of a disavowal is an impudent insult offered to the King's dignity. The King of Spain disowns the thief, while he leaves him unpunished, and profits by the theft : in vulgar English, he is the receiver of stolen goods, and ought to be treated accordingly.

“ If your lordships will look back to a period of the English history, in which the circumstances are reversed, in which the Spaniards were the complainants, you will see how differently *they* succeeded : you will see one of the ablest men, one of the bravest officers this or any other country ever produced (it is hardly necessary to mention the name of sir Walter Raleigh) sacrificed by the meanest prince that ever sat upon the throne, to the vindictive jealousy of that haughty court. James the First was base enough, at the instance of Gondomar, to suffer a sentence against sir Walter Raleigh, for another supposed offence, to be carried into execution almost twelve years after it had been passed. This was the pretence. His real crime was, that he had mortally offended the Spaniards, while he acted by the King's express orders, and under his commission.

“ My lords, the pretended disavowal by the court of Spain is as ridiculous as it is false. If your lordships want any further proof, call for your own officers, who were stationed at Falkland Island. Ask the officer who commanded the garrison, whether, when he was sum-

If you will be so good as to answer Mr. Wedderburne's letter, as having communicated it to me,

moned to surrender, the demand was made in the name of the governor of Buenos Ayres, or of his Catholic Majesty? Was the island said to belong to Don Francisco Bucarelli*, or to the King of Spain? If I am not mistaken, we have been in possession of these islands since the year 1764, or 1765.† Will the ministry assert, that in all that time, the Spanish court have never once claimed them? that their right to them has never been urged, or mentioned to our ministry? If it has, the act of the governor of Buenos Ayres is plainly the consequence of our refusal to acknowledge and submit to the Spanish claims. For five years they negotiate; when that fails, they take the island by force. If that measure had arisen out of the general instructions, constantly given to the governor of Buenos Ayres, why should the execution of it have been deferred so long?

"My lords, if the falsehood of this pretended disavowal had been confined to the court of Spain, I should have admitted it without concern. I should have been content that they themselves had left a door open for excuse and accommodation. The King of England's honour is not touched till he adopts the falsehood, delivers it to his Parliament, and makes it his own.

"I cannot quit this subject without comparing the conduct of the present ministry with that of a gentleman (Mr. George Grenville,) who is now no more. The occasions were similar. The French had taken a little island from us called Turk's Island. The minister then at the head of the treasury, took the business upon himself; but he did not negotiate: he sent for the French ambassador, and made a peremptory demand. A courier was dispatched to Paris, and returned in a few days, with orders for instant restitution, not only of the island, but of every thing that the English subjects had lost.

"Such then, my lords, are the circumstances of our difference with Spain; and in this situation, we are told that a negotiation has been entered into, that this negotiation, which must have commenced near three months ago, is still depending, and that any insight into the actual state of it will impede the conclusion. My lords I am not, for my own part, very anxious to draw from the ministry the information which they take so much care to conceal from us. I very well know where this honourable negotiation *will* end; where it *must* end. We may, perhaps, be able to patch up an accommodation for the present, but we shall have a Spanish war in six months. Some of your lordships may, perhaps, remember the Convention. For several successive years our merchants had been plundered — no protection given

* The Spanish commander of the expedition.

† See Vol. III. pp. 119, 132.

and, if you please, to express, in my name, the sense I have of Mr. Wedderburne's most obliging

them — no redress obtained for them ; during all that time we were contented to complain, and to negotiate : — the court of Madrid were then as ready to disown their officers, and as unwilling to punish them, as they are at present. Whatever violence happened was always laid to the charge of one or other of their West India governors. To-day it was the governor of Cuba, to-morrow of Porto Rico, Carthagena, or Porto Bello. If in a particular instance, redress was promised, how was that promise kept ? The merchant, who had been robbed of his property, was sent to the West Indies, to get it, if he could, out of an empty chest. At last the Convention was made ; but, though approved by a majority of both Houses, was received by the nation with universal discontent. I myself heard that wise man, Sir Robert Walpole, say in the House of Commons, ‘ ’Tis true we have got a Convention and a vote of parliament ; but what signifies it, we shall have a Spanish war upon the back of our Convention.’ — Here, my lords, I cannot help mentioning a very striking observation made to me by a noble lord, (the late lord Granville) since dead. His abilities did honour to this House and to this nation : in the upper departments of government he had not his equal ; and I feel a pride in declaring, that to his patronage, to his friendship and instruction, I owe whatever I am. This great man has often observed to me that, in all the negotiations which preceded the Convention, our ministers never found out that there was no ground, or subject for any negotiation ; that the Spaniards had not a right to search our ships, and when they attempted to regulate that right by treaty, they were regulating a thing which did not exist. This I take to be something like the case of the ministry. The Spaniards have seized an island they have no right to, and his Majesty's servants make it matter of negotiation, whether his dominions shall be restored to him or not.

“ From what I have said, my lords, I do not doubt but it will be understood by many lords, and given out to the public, that I am for hurrying the nation, at all events, into a war with Spain. My lords, I disclaim such councils, and I beg that this declaration may be remembered — let us have peace, my lords, but let it be honourable, let it be secure. A patched up peace will not do. It will not satisfy the nation, though it may be approved of by parliament. I distinguish widely between a solid peace, and the disgraceful expedients, by which a war may be deferred but cannot be avoided. I am as tender of the effusion of human blood, as the noble lord who dwelt so long upon the miseries of war. If the bloody politics of some noble lords had been followed, England, and every quarter of his Majesty's dominions, would have been glutted with blood — the blood of our own countrymen.

manner of meeting my earnest wishes to have an opportunity of seeing him, and exchanging senti-

“ My lords, I have better reasons, perhaps, than many of your lordships for desiring peace upon the terms I have described. I know the strength and preparation of the House of Bourbon; I know the defenceless, unprepared condition of this country. I know not by what mismanagement we are reduced to this situation; and when I consider, who are the men by whom a war, in the outset at least, must be conducted, can I but wish for peace? Let them not screen themselves behind the want of intelligence — they had intelligence: I know they had. If they had not, they are criminal; and their excuse is their crime. But I will tell these young ministers the true source of intelligence. It is sagacity. Sagacity to compare causes and effects; to judge the present state of things, and discern the future by a careful review of the past. Oliver Cromwell, who astonished mankind by his intelligence, did not derive it from spies in the cabinet of every prince in Europe; he drew it from the cabinet of his own sagacious mind. He observed facts, and traced them forward to their consequences. From what was, he concluded what must be, and he never was deceived. In the present situation of affairs, I think it would be treachery to the nation to conceal from them their real circumstances; and with respect to a foreign enemy, I know that all concealments are vain and useless. They are as well acquainted with the actual force and weakness of this country, as any of the King’s servants. This is no time for silence, or reserve. I charge the ministers with the highest crimes that men in their stations can be guilty of. I charge them with having destroyed all content and unanimity at home, by a series of oppressive, unconstitutional measures; and with having betrayed and delivered up the nation defenceless to a foreign enemy.

“ Their utmost vigour has reached no farther than to a fruitless, protracted negotiation. When they should have acted, they have contented themselves with talking ‘about it, Goddess, and about it.’ If we do not stand forth, and do our duty in the present crisis, the nation is irretrievably undone. I despise the little policy of concealments. You ought to know the whole of your situation. If the information be new to the ministry, let them take care to profit by it. I mean to rouse, to alarm the nation — to rouse the ministry, if possible, who seem to awake to nothing but the preservation of their places — to awaken the King.

“ Early in the last spring, a motion was made in parliament, for inquiring into the state of the navy, and an augmentation of six thousand seamen was offered to the ministry. They refused to give us any insight into the condition of the navy, and rejected the augmentation. Early in June they received advice of a commencement of hostilities by

ments, as far as he will give leave, with a person, for whose handsome conduct and great abilities I have a very real and high esteem.

a Spanish armament which had warned the King's garrison to quit an island belonging to his Majesty. From that to the 12th of September, as if nothing had happened, they lay dormant. Not a man was raised, not a single ship was put into commission. From the 12th of September, when they heard of the first blow being actually struck, we are to date the beginning of their preparations for defence. Let us now inquire, my lords, what expedition they have used, what vigour they have exerted. We have heard wonders of the diligence employed in impressing, of the large bounties offered, and the number of ships put into commission. These have been, for some time past, the constant topics of ministerial boast and triumph. Without regarding the description, let us look to the substance. I tell your lordships that, with all this vigour and expedition, they have not, in a period of considerably more than two months, raised ten thousand seamen. I mention that number, meaning to speak largely, though in my own breast, I am convinced that the number does not exceed eight thousand. But it is said they have ordered forty ships of the line into commission. My lords, upon this subject I can speak with knowledge—I have been conversant in these matters, and draw my information from the greatest and most respectable naval authority that ever existed in this country—I mean the late Lord Anson. The merits of that great man are not so universally known, nor his memory so warmly respected as he deserved. To his wisdom, to his experience, and care, (and I speak it with pleasure) the nation owes the glorious naval successes of the last war. The state of facts laid before parliament in the year 1756, so entirely convinced me of the injustice done to his character that in spite of the popular clamours raised against him, in direct opposition to the complaints of the merchants, and of the whole city, (whose favour I am supposed to court upon all occasions) I replaced him at the head of the Admiralty; and I thank God that I had resolution enough to do so. Instructed by this great seamen, I do affirm, that forty ships of the line, with their necessary attendant frigates, to be properly manned, require forty thousand seamen. If your lordships are surprised at this assertion, you will be more so, when I assure you, that in the last war, this country maintained eighty-five thousand seamen, and employed them all. Now, my lords, the peace establishment of your navy, supposing it complete and effective, (which by the by ought to be known) is sixteen thousand men. Add to these the number newly raised, and you have about twenty-five thousand men to man your fleet. I shall come presently to the application of this force, such

The note, in its contents, is dreadful, and too probably true. I am ever, with truest esteem,

Very affectionately yours,

CHATHAM.

as it is, and compare it with the services, which I know are indispensable. But first, my Lords, let us have done with the boasted vigour of the ministry. Let us hear no more of their activity. If your lordships will recall to your minds the state of this country when Mahon was taken, and compare what was done by government at that time with the efforts now made in very similar circumstances, you will be able to determine what praise is due to the vigorous operations of the present ministry. Upon the first intelligence of the invasion of Minorca, a great fleet was equipped and sent out; and near double the number of seamen collected in half the time taken to fit out the present force, which, pitiful as it is, is not yet, if the occasion were ever so pressing, in a condition to go to sea. Consult the returns, which were laid before parliament in the year 1756. I was one of those who urged a parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the ministry. That ministry, my lords, in the midst of universal censure and reproach, had honour and virtue enough to promote the inquiry themselves. They scorned to evade it by the mean expedient of putting a previous question. Upon the strictest inquiry it appeared, that the diligence they had used in sending a squadron to the Mediterranean, and in their other naval preparations, was beyond all example.

“My lords, the subject on which I am speaking seems to call upon me, and I willingly take this occasion to declare my opinion upon a question, on which much wicked pains have been employed to disturb the minds of the people, and to distress government. My opinion may not be very popular; neither am I running the race of popularity. I am myself clearly convinced, and I believe every man who knows any thing of the English navy will acknowledge, that without impressing, it is impossible to equip a respectable fleet within the time in which such armaments are usually wanted. If this fact be admitted, and if the necessity of arming on a sudden emergency should appear incontrovertible, what shall we think of those men, who in the moment of danger would stop the great defence of their country. On whatever principle they may act, the act itself is more than faction; it is labouring to cut off the right hand of the community. I wholly condemn their conduct, and am ready to support any motion that may be made, for bringing those aldermen, who have endeavoured to stop the execution of the Admiralty warrants, to the bar of this House. My lords, I do not rest my opinion merely on necessity. I am satisfied that the power of im-

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELburnE.

Hayes, Sunday night.
[November 25, 1770.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I THINK it not immaterial, in the present moment, to apprise your Lordship how the matter

pressing is founded upon uninterrupted usage. It is the *consuetudo regni*, and part of the common law prerogative of the crown.* When I condemn the proceedings of some persons upon this occasion, let me do justice to a man whose character and conduct have been most infamously traduced; I mean the late lord mayor, Mr. Trecothick. In the midst of reproach and clamour, he had firmness enough to persevere in doing his duty. I do not know in office a more upright magistrate; nor, in private life, a worthier man.

"Permit me now, my lords, to state to your lordships the extent and variety of the services which must be provided for, and to compare them with our apparent resources. A due attention to, and provision for these services, is prudence in time of peace; in war it is necessity. Preventive policy, my lords, which obviates or avoids the injury, is far preferable to that vindictive policy, which aims at reparation, or has no object but revenge. The precaution that meets the disorder is cheap and easy; the remedy which follows it, bloody and expensive. The first great and acknowledged object of national defence in this country, is to maintain such a superior naval force at home, that even the united fleets of France and Spain may never be masters of the Channel. If that should ever happen, what is there to hinder their landing in Ireland, or even upon our own coast? They have often made the attempt: in King William's time it succeeded. King James embarked on board a French fleet, and landed with a French army in Ireland. In the mean time the French were masters of the Channel, and continued so until their fleet was destroyed by Admiral Russel. As to the probable con-

* "I lament the unhappy necessity, whenever it arises; but I never can doubt that the community has a right to command, as well as to purchase the service of its members. I see that right founded originally upon a necessity, which supersedes all argument. I see it established by usage immemorial, and admitted by more than a tacit assent of the legislature."—*Junius*, ii. 351.

stands, with regard to the meeting wished with the gentleman we talked of in Pall Mall. I have not

sequences of a foreign army landing in Great Britain or Ireland, I shall offer your lordships my opinion when I speak of the actual condition of our standing army.

“ The second naval object with an English minister, should be to maintain at all times a powerful western squadron. In the profoundest peace it should be respectable ; in war it should be formidable. Without it, the colonies, the commerce, the navigation of Great Britain, lie at the mercy of the House of Bourbon. While I had the honour of acting with lord Anson, that able officer never ceased to inculcate upon the minds of his Majesty’s servants the necessity of constantly maintaining a strong western squadron ; and I must vouch for him, that while *he* was at the head of the marine it was never neglected.

“ The third object indispensable, as I conceive, in the distribution of our navy, is to maintain such a force in the bay of Gibraltar as may be sufficient to cover that garrison, to watch the motions of the Spaniards, and to keep open the communication with Minorca. The ministry will not betray such want of information as to dispute the truth of any of these propositions. But how will your lordships be astonished, when I inform you in what manner they have provided for these great, these essential objects ? As to the first, I mean the defence of the Channel, I take upon myself to affirm to your lordships, that, at this hour (and I beg that the date may be taken down and observed) we cannot send out eleven ships of the line so manned and equipped, that any officer of rank and credit in the service shall accept of the command and stake his reputation upon it. We have one ship of the line at Jamaica, one at the Leeward islands, and one at Gibraltar ; yet at this very moment, for aught the ministry know, both Jamaica and Gibraltar may be attacked ; and if they are attacked (which God forbid !) they must fall. Nothing can prevent it but the appearance of a superior squadron. It is true that, some two months ago, four ships of the line were ordered from Portsmouth and one from Plymouth, to carry a relief from Ireland to Gibraltar. These ships, my lords, a week ago, were still in port. If, on their arrival at Gibraltar, they should find the bay possessed by a superior squadron, the relief cannot be landed : and if it could be landed, of what force do your lordships think it consists ? Two regiments, of four hundred men each, at a time like this, are sent to secure a place of such importance as Gibraltar ! a place which it is universally agreed cannot hold against a vigorous attack from the sea, if once the enemy should be so far masters of the bay as to make a good landing even with a moderate force. The indispensable service of the lines requires at least four thousand men. The present garrison consists of about two thousand three hundred ; so that, if the relief should

seen him, but the letter on the subject of our meeting, though deferring it for two or three days,

be fortunate enough to get on shore, they will want eight hundred men of their necessary complement.

“ Let us now, my lords, turn our eyes homewards. When the defence of Great Britain or Ireland is in question, it is no longer a point of honour ; it is not the security of foreign commerce, or foreign possessions ; we are to contend for the very being of the state. I have good authority to assure your lordships, that the Spaniards have now a fleet at Ferrol, completely manned and ready to sail, which we are in no condition to meet. We could not this day send out eleven ships of the line properly equipped, and to-morrow the enemy may be masters of the Channel. It is unnecessary to press the consequences of these facts upon your lordships’ minds. If the enemy were to land in full force, either upon this coast or in Ireland, where is your army ? where is your defence ? My lords, if the House of Bourbon make a wise and vigorous use of the actual advantages they have over us, it is more than probable that on this day month we may not be a nation. What military force can the ministry show to answer any sudden demand ? I do not speak of foreign expeditions, or offensive operations. I speak of the interior defence of Ireland, and of this country. You have a nominal army of seventy battalions, besides guards and cavalry. But what is the establishment of these battalions ? Supposing they were complete to the numbers allowed (which I know they are not) each regiment would consist of something less than four hundred men, rank and file. Are these battalions complete ? Have any orders been given for an augmentation, or do the ministry mean to continue them upon their present low establishment ? When America, the West Indies, Gibraltar, and Minorca, are taken care of, consider, my lords, what part of this army will remain to defend Ireland and Great Britain ? This subject, my lords, leads me to considerations of foreign policy and foreign alliance. It is more connected with them than your lordships may at first imagine. When I compare the numbers of our people, estimated highly at seven millions, with the population of France and Spain, usually computed at twenty-five millions, I see a clear, self-evident impossibility for this country to contend with the united power of the House of Bourbon, merely upon the strength of its own resources. They who talk of confining a great war to naval operations only, speak without knowledge or experience. We can no more command the disposition than the events of a war. Wherever we are attacked, there we must defend.

“ I have been much abused, my lords, for supporting a war, which it has been the fashion to call *my* German war. But I can affirm, with a clear conscience, that that abuse has been thrown on me by men, who were either unacquainted with facts, or had an interest in misrepresenting them. I shall speak plainly and frankly to your lordships on this

is so conceived, as to give me every ground to think that his general disposition is right. The rest can

as I do on every occasion. That I did in parliament oppose, to the utmost of my power, our engaging in a German war, is most true; and if the same circumstance were to recur, I would act the same part, and oppose it again. But when I was called upon to take a share in the administration, that measure was already decided. Before I was appointed secretary of state, the first treaty with the King of Prussia was signed, and not only ratified by the crown, but approved of and confirmed by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament. It was a weight fastened upon my neck. By that treaty, the honour of the crown and the honour of the nation were equally engaged. How I could recede from such an engagement; how I could advise the crown to desert a great prince in the midst of those difficulties, in which a reliance upon the good faith of this country had contributed to involve him, are questions I willingly submit to your lordships' candour. That wonderful man might, perhaps, have extricated himself from his difficulties without our assistance. He has talents which, in every thing that touches the human capacity, do honour to the human mind. But how would England have supported that reputation of credit and good faith, by which we have been distinguished in Europe? What other foreign power would have sought our friendship? What other foreign power would have accepted of an alliance with us?

"But, my lords, though I wholly condemn our entering into any engagements which tend to involve us in a continental war, I do not admit that alliances with some of the German princes are either detrimental or useless. They *may be*, my lords, not only useful, but necessary. I hope, indeed, I never shall see an army of foreign auxiliaries in Great Britain; we do not want it. If our people are united; if they are attached to the King, and place a confidence in his government, we have an internal strength sufficient to repel any foreign invasion. With respect to Ireland, my lords, I am not of the same opinion. If a powerful foreign army were landed in that kingdom, with arms ready to be put into the hands of the Roman Catholics, I declare freely to your lordships, that I should heartily wish it were possible to collect twenty thousand German protestants, whether from Hesse, or Brunswick, or Wolfenbüttele, or even the unpopular Hanoverian, and land them in Ireland. I wish it, my lords, because I am convinced that, whenever the case happens, we shall have no English army to spare.

"I have taken a wide circuit, my lords; and trespassed, I fear, too long upon your lordships' patience. Yet I cannot conclude without endeavouring to bring home your thoughts to an object more immediately interesting to us than any I have yet considered; I mean the internal condition of this country. We may look abroad for wealth,

only be ascertained by an interview and exchange of sentiments, as far as a first conversation between men not much acquainted will allow.

or triumphs, or luxury ; but England, my lords, is the main stay, the last resort of the whole empire. To this point every scheme of policy, whether foreign or domestic, should ultimately refer. Have any measures been taken to satisfy, or to unite the people ? Are the grievances they have so long complained of removed ? or do they stand not only unredressed, but aggravated ? Is the right of free election restored to the elective body ? My lords, I myself am one of the people. I esteem that security and independence, which is the original birthright of an Englishman, far beyond the privileges, however splendid, which are annexed to the peerage. I myself am by birth an English elector, and join with the freholders of England as in a common cause. Believe me, my lords, we mistake our real interest as much as our duty, when we separate ourselves from the mass of the people. Can it be expected that Englishmen will unite heartily in the defence of a government, by which they feel themselves insulted and oppressed ? Restore them to their rights ; that is the true way to make them unanimous. It is not a ceremonious recommendation from the throne, that can bring back peace and harmony to a discontented people. That insipid annual opiate has been administered so long, that it has lost its effect. Something substantial, something effectual must be done.

“ The public credit of the nation stands next in degree to the rights of the constitution ; it calls loudly for the interposition of parliament. There is a set of men, my lords, in the city of London, who are known to live in riot and luxury, upon the plunder of the ignorant, the innocent, the helpless — on that part of the community, which stands most in need of, and best deserves the care and protection of legislature. To me, my lords, whether they be miserable jobbers of 'Change-alley, or the lofty Asiatic plunderers of Leadenhall-street, they are all equally detestable. I care but little whether a man walks on foot, or is drawn by eight horses or six horses ; if his luxury be supported by the plunder of his country, I despise and detest him. My lords, while I had the honour of serving his Majesty, I never ventured to look at the treasury but at a distance ; it is a business I am unfit for, and to which I never could have submitted. The little I know of it has not served to raise my opinion of what is vulgarly called the *monied interest* ; I mean that blood-sucker, that muckworm, which calls itself the friend of government — that pretends to serve this or that administration, and may be purchased, on the same terms, by any administration — that advances money to government, and takes special care of its own emoluments. Under this description I include the whole race of commissaries, job-

I have reflected much and with great pleasure on what passed at my lodgings on Friday. Mr.

bers, contractors, clothiers, and remitters. Yet I do not deny that, even with these creatures, some management may be necessary. I hope, my lords, that nothing I have said will be understood to extend to the honest, industrious tradesman, who holds the middle rank, and has given repeated proofs, that he prefers law and liberty to gold. I love that class of men. Much less would I be thought to reflect upon the fair merchant, whose liberal commerce is the prime source of national wealth. I esteem his occupation, and respect his character.

“My lords, if the general representation which I have had the honour to lay before you of the situation of public affairs, has, in any measure, engaged your attention, your lordships, I am sure, will agree with me, that the season calls for more than common prudence and vigour in the direction of our councils. The difficulty of the crisis demands a wise, a firm, and a popular administration. The dishonourable traffic of places has engaged us too long. Upon this subject, my lords, I speak without interest or enmity. I have no personal objection to any of the King’s servants. I shall never be minister; certainly not without full power to cut away all the rotten branches of government. Yet, unconcerned as I truly am for myself, I cannot avoid seeing some capital errors in the distribution of the royal favour. There are men, my lords, who, if their own services were forgotten, ought to have an hereditary merit with the House of Hanover; whose ancestors stood forth in the day of trouble, opposed their persons and fortunes to treachery and rebellion, and secured to his Majesty’s family this splendid power of rewarding. There are other men, my lords, [looking sternly at Lord Mansfield], who, to speak tenderly of them, were not quite so forward in the demonstrations of their zeal to the reigning family; there was another cause, my lords, and a partiality to it, which some persons had not, at all times, discretion enough to conceal.* I know I shall be accused of attempting to revive distinctions. My lords, if it were possible, I would abolish all distinctions. I would not wish the favours of the crown to flow invariably in one channel. But there are some distinctions which are inherent in the nature of things. There is a distinction between right and wrong — between Whig and Tory.

* Junius, addressing Lord Mansfield, says, “Your zeal in the cause of an unhappy prince was expressed with the sincerity of wine, and some of the solemnities of religion;” and he adds in a note, “This man was always a rank Jacobite; Lord Ravensworth produced the most satisfactory evidence of his having frequently drank the Pretender’s health upon his knees.” — *Junius*, vol. ii. p. 160.

Cornwall's motives to decline moving are so full of reason and manly delicacy, that I confess they seem not fit to be dissuaded; on the contrary, I

“When I speak of an administration, such as the necessity of the season calls for, my views are large and comprehensive. It must be popular, that it may begin with reputation. It must be strong within itself, that it may proceed with vigour and decision. An administration, formed upon an exclusive system of family connections, or private friendships, cannot, I am convinced, be long supported in this country. Yet, my lords, no man respects, or values more than I do, that honourable connection which arises from a disinterested concurrence in opinion upon public measures, or from the sacred bond of private friendship and esteem. What I mean is, that no single man's private friendships or connections, however extensive, are sufficient of themselves either to form or overturn an administration. With respect to the ministry, I believe they have fewer rivals than they imagine. No prudent man will covet a situation so beset with difficulty and danger.

“I shall trouble your lordships with but a few words more. His Majesty tells us in his speech, that he will call upon us for our advice, if it should be necessary in the farther progress of this affair. It is not easy to say whether or no the ministry are serious in this declaration; nor what is meant by the progress of an affair which rests on one fixed point. Hitherto we have not been called upon. But though we are not consulted, it is our right and duty, as the King's great hereditary Council, to offer him our advice. The papers, mentioned in the noble Duke's motion, will enable us to form a just and accurate opinion of the conduct of his Majesty's servants, though not of the actual state of their honourable negotiations. The ministry, too, seem to want advice on some points, in which their own safety is immediately concerned. They are now balancing between a war which they ought to have foreseen, but for which they have made no provision, and an ignominious compromise. Let me warn them of their danger. If they are forced into a war, they stand it at the hazard of their heads. If, by an ignominious compromise, they should stain the honour of the crown, or sacrifice the rights of the people, let them look to the consequences, and consider whether they will be able to walk the streets in safety.”

The Duke of Richmond's motion was strongly supported by the Marquis of Roekingham, the Duke of Manchester, Lord Lyttelton, and the Earl of Shelburne, and opposed by the Earl of Hillsborough, Lord Gower, and Lord Sandwich. Upon a division, the numbers were, for the previous question sixty-five, against it twenty-one.

esteem him the more.⁽¹⁾ Under this circumstance, what does your Lordship think most expedient? to leave it to Mr. Oliver, or try to find a properer person; would Sir William Meredith undertake it; and is that advisable, on the supposition that he may be willing so to do? I confess I apprehend that Mr. Oliver (be his parts what they may) must be too new to the business of the House, to introduce with propriety and weight, and conduct with sufficient skill and force, a matter of so grave and important a nature, requiring some knowledge and much precision and correctness of conception, to keep the consideration on its true ground. However, for all these, I know the gentlemen of the law can most easily furnish so clear instructions, that one would hope nobody could lose their way. I beg to hear from your Lordship, if there is any day fixed for the King's message. I will, at all events, endeavour to wait on you an early day this week. I am always, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and affectionate humble servant,

CHATHAM.

(¹) It was originally intended, that the important question of the power lodged in the hands of the Attorney-General to file Informations *ex-officio* should be brought forward in the House of Commons by Mr. Cornwall.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Shelburne House, one o'clock, p. m.

[November 26, 1770.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM very happy to agree so entirely with your Lordship in your judgment of Mr. Cornwall's motives and the regard due to his delicacy, that in a conversation which I have since had with him, I treated the matter almost in the very terms of your letter. It turned on his own very decided opinion, that any previous communication with our friends, whom Colonel Barré calls the *night-caps*, from a faction in Sweden⁽¹⁾, might lead to insuperable difficulties; whereas, in case of his moving it, a return of that communication might be expected, which they had observed towards him with great punctuality. All this is happily removed by his having met Captain Phipps⁽²⁾ at Mr. Dowdeswell's, who desired

(1) The Swedes were at this time divided into two great parties, distinguished by the sobriquet of *hats* and *caps*; the former being those who espoused the interest of the court, the latter the country or patriotic party.

(2) The honourable Constantine Phipps, eldest son of Constantine, first Lord Mulgrave, whom he succeeded in 1775. He was a captain in the navy. In 1773, he made a voyage to discover the existence of a north-east passage into the South Seas, of which he published an account. He afterwards successively filled the offices of first lord of the admiralty, joint-paymaster of the forces, lord of trade and plantations, and commissioner of the India board; and dying in 1792 without issue, he was succeeded in the Irish barony by his brother Henry, father of the present Marquis of Normanby.

to communicate his motion for to-morrow, which is, to repeal the clause of the act of king William which leaves the attorney-general the power of filing informations. Mr. Cornwall alleged, that the complaints against Westminster Hall were more extensive, and that he might be called upon to prove the abuse of informations ; both which considerations might lead to a general inquiry. He said it was the thing he wished ; and then he would keep himself ready to meet the idea from any part of the House. Mr. Dowdeswell likewise inclined to it, as the more *orderly* way of proceeding. Cornwall has therefore undertaken to take that ground, if nobody else does ; and he has promised me to do it early enough in the day to give the debate a more comprehensive turn ; and this notwithstanding Mr. Dowdeswell should come to change his own notions of order for the political notions of his party.

The advantage of this I take to be, that by this natural opening from a quarter avowedly unconnected, the temper of the House will be tried. If it answers, the matter, I hope, will be pushed ; if not, it may be let drop at almost any period, letting it pass for general debate, and taking care to reserve the matter still for another day ; against which it may be further prepared and more concert had.

Your Lordship knows enough of mankind to imagine perpetual difficulties occurring between planning and executing any thing manly ; but I should hope this line will be adhered to, except any thing

different occurs to your Lordship; which makes me send a servant of my own to save your Lordship the trouble of returning.

I hear nothing of a message. Without having any authentic intelligence, I do not observe that the idea of peace gains ground: the best letters from Portugal talk of war as the intention of Spain; a defensive one in Europe, an offensive one in America, where undoubtedly they has by degrees sent their best troops.

Your Lordship may easily imagine every art of exaggeration and misrepresentation has been employed to create mischief in the city, on the foundation of what dropped from you the other day, of calling aldermen to the bar.⁽¹⁾ However, I have reason to believe that the principles of our friends there, as well as their weight, are much too steady to be so affected. This, however, and a multitude of other circumstances—Mr. Burke on juries included—make me think it of the greatest consequence to have some motion before the recess, regarding home grievances. I hear, however, nothing from the night-caps, and people begin already to talk of going out of town for the holy-days. Dowdeswell says, he is determined to move

(¹) In the course of his speech in the House of Lords, on the preceding Thursday, Lord Chatham had strongly reprobated the conduct of those city aldermen, who had endeavoured to stop the execution of those admiralty press-warrants, and expressed his readiness to support any motion that might be made for bringing them to the bar of the House.

nothing relative to the Middlesex election till after the holydays, but to reserve the two last motions for papers for this and next week, as they have not been moved in the House of Commons; which can do no good and only tire the House.

The opinion is universal, that Wedderburne is in the act of negotiating, or open to it. If your Lordship does not come to Pall Mall on Wednesday, I will let you know what passes to-morrow; likewise whether any thing further is proposed by Lord Rockingham, whom I expect to meet in the House of Lords, where judgment is to be given in Lord Anglesea's cause⁽¹⁾ to-morrow.

Your Lordship's most devoted

humble servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Monday, 5 o'clock, p. m.

[Nov. 26, 1770.]

MY DEAR LORD,

YOUR obliging letter gives me the pleasure of knowing that a happy issue is found to the imme-

(¹) Arthur Annesley, Viscount Valentia, in Ireland, had this year claimed the English earldom of Anglesea, &c., as legitimate son of the late earl who died in 1761, on the ground that his father was privately married to his mother Juliana, Countess of Anglesea, in 1741, prior to his birth. The House of Lords decided, that the claimant had no right to the said title, &c.; in direct opposition to a determination of the Irish House of Lords, by which he was admitted to the Irish honours.

diate difficulty of the moment, with regard to the great object, the court of justice. I doubt not that the abilities of Mr. Cornwall and Colonel Barré, with others, will make the proper use of the opening from Dowdeswell's quarter, in consequence of Captain Phipps's motion ; but all depends upon that use being firmly made, and the nail clinched home for the necessity of inquiry ; or I foresee the charge will be given, and a tub for the whale thrown out by the *screeners*; who, as your Lordship is aware, are not a few. It is fortunate that the pulse of the House will be felt without an air of personality from any particular quarter ; but should that pulse be found faint and uncertain, it seems to me indispensable, that the lukewarm, the wavering, and the treacherous should be brought to the test, and the discrimination made between the votaries of the constitution and the pretended patriots. My opinion still is, that all *will* follow, because they *must*.

Your Lordship's attention on my subject, with regard to the city, are, *ab solito*, infinitely kind. I have no solicitude on that side, but not to hurt you and other friends there. For myself, I would not question the excesses of a lord chief-justice, if I could hesitate publicly to demand why, and upon what ground, any other magistrate in the kingdom took upon him to act in opposition to lawful authority, and manifestly against the public good. The city, respectable as it is, deems of itself *as I do not*, if they imagine themselves exempt from question.

Dowdeswell's intended delay, with regard to the constitution, seems to me to go beyond even the drowsiness of the night-cap. I am, upon cool reflection, most clearly of opinion, that some direct home question upon the violation in Middlesex should be moved before many days ensue — a week at most; if not, the public will be justified to surmise, that there is a party to surrender the electors' rights; as backwardness upon juries would afford the same ground of suspicions on that head. If liberty, in the whole, be, as it is, one firm arch, where not a stone can be withdrawn with safety, elections and juries are the main buttments.

I propose having the pleasure of calling on your Lordship to-morrow. If Colonel Barré and Mr. Cornwall could be at your house, it will be much additional pleasure to me, and may ripen things for execution. The protracted suspense, as to peace or war, is unexampled, and most anxious: I do not doubt it will be war.⁽¹⁾ I am ashamed of the length of this hasty, loose letter, and am ever, my dear Lord,

Most faithfully and
affectionately yours,
CHATHAM.

(1) Mr. Gerard Hamilton, in a letter to Mr. Calcraft of the 3d of December, says, "My opinion is, that there will *not* be war. I may be mistaken, but I think my intelligence extremely good; and it is, that the Spaniards have consented, not only to deliver up the island, but that you should continue in the quiet possession of it. They refuse, however, to disown the act of the governor; but say, I think very manly, that what he did was by their order, but that they are sorry for it, and

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.Grosvenor Square, Monday night, 12 o'clock.
[November 26, 1770.]

MY LORD,

I DID not think it necessary to trouble your Lordship with a letter, merely on reports which were much talked on last Friday and Saturday ; but by what I heard yesterday, and particularly by some things which have happened to-day, and on some private informations, I will not delay sending your Lordship what now appears to me to be too well founded.

Your Lordship will probably have heard, that General Cornwallis ⁽¹⁾ kissed hands to-day, and is going along with other officers to Gibraltar. The governor of Minorca ⁽²⁾ is also ordered to his

are willing things should be put exactly in the situation they were. Opposition must of course say, this is an indignity not to be put up with. The best solution for all this difficulty will be to send for Lord Chatham. I look upon myself to be a moderate man ; and yet *there is nothing of which I am persuaded more, than that his very name in ministry would bring Spain to what is required, and, if well managed, prevent a war.*"

(1) The honourable Edward Cornwallis, sixth son of Charles fourth Lord Cornwallis. He served in the campaigns in Flanders in 1744 and 1745, and distinguished himself at Culloden. He was appointed governor of Nova Scotia in 1749, and of Gibraltar in 1762. For several years he represented the borough of Eye and city of Westminster in parliament, and died in 1776.

(2) Sir George Howard ; in 1766, made governor of Minorca ; in 1777, governor of Chelsea Hospital ; in 1793, raised to the rank of field-marshal ; and in 1795, made governor of the island of Jersey. He died in 1796.

government. Lord Howe kissed hands to-day, and is to go to command the fleet (when there is one) in the Mediterranean.

I have private and authentic information, that a scheme for augmenting the army is to-day taken into consideration ; and I understand the plan is to augment the army in various ways, so as that the augmentation should produce from fifteen to twenty thousand men. Another private information is through the Duke of Manchester, whose brother, Lord Charles Greville Montagu, is governor of South Carolina, and now in England for his health. He was sent for by Lord Hillsborough, and informed that he must go immediately, or quit his government ; and in the conversation, Lord Hillsborough told him, that it was necessary, “ as probably we were on the eve of a war ; ” and then added some words which expressed, that he now thought war inevitable. Your Lordship will recollect Lord Hillsborough’s speech in the House of Lords, and will see a very sudden alteration in his present discourse, from what it was that day in the House of Lords. The stocks keep tumbling down very fast, and by the appearance, and by a few words I had to-night in conversation with some ministerial persons, I think war is the event to be expected. I asked, whether we were to have any message to-morrow, or soon. I find there is no thought of it just at present.

In this situation of affairs, I incline very much to think that, in both Houses of Parliament, the same motion which we made last Thursday

should be renewed, and perhaps that we should tack to it a desire of knowing what intelligence was received some days ago from the lieutenant who was sent by Captain Leveson Gower from off Cadiz.

I rather think that we should still keep to the line of attacking the administration for their neglect in not arming earlier, and try by all means to force them to lay before parliament and the public those intelligences, which, in my mind, will prove strongly their neglect.

Parliament, indeed, may be under such good discipline, that they may vote that there was not ground for blame; but I think the public will form a very different judgment. We may afterwards proceed and show, that even when the administration took fright and began to arm, they did it weakly and ineffectually; and the hurry they are now in, in the steps they take at this moment, reflects back very strong proof of their neglect, even from the 12th of September to this day, the 25th of November.

Some attribute the governor of Gibraltar and the officers being now to go, to the correction which the ministers received last Thursday in the House of Commons; but the secret intelligence which I send your Lordship, relative to the sudden plan of augmenting the army, proves that they now find war more inevitable than I believe they in general thought last Thursday.

Your Lordship will judge best, as to the manner

of proceeding, and also whether, in point of time, it might not be right to defer acting again till Friday, or even later. I should imagine, that suffering the blame to spread for some days will have effect on the public. I should be glad to hear from your Lordship early, and hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in town soon. I have the honour to be, with great truth and regard, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

and most humble servant,

ROCKINGHAM.

LORD CAMDEN TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

November 28, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

As I breakfasted abroad, it was late before I had the favour of your Lordship's letter. I am much honoured by your Lordship's communication of the motion to-day, and shall always be happy to give my approbation of your Lordship's measures, by a personal attendance and support, whenever I think that my poor abilities can in any degree be effectual for the service of the public. As to the present motion, it has too strong a resemblance to the motion of last Thursday, to make my attendance upon the one consistent with my absence on the other; and therefore I hope your Lordship

will consider me as under a necessity of not appearing to-day in the House of Lords.⁽¹⁾ I am, with most perfect esteem and attachment,

Your Lordship's

most faithful friend and servant,

CAMDEN.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Wednesday, past ten o'clock.

[Nov. 28, 1770.]

MY DEAR LORD,

LEST I should miss your Lordship, or find you engaged in my way to the House, and that it may be material to you to be apprized of the turn of things yesterday, I write to acquaint your Lordship in general, that Mr. Phipps changed his mind during the debate ⁽²⁾, and would not give up his

(1) The motions made this day by Lord Chatham were, first, that Captain Hunt, late captain of the Tamer sloop, should be ordered to attend the House on Monday, upon which the previous question was put and carried by fifty-five against twenty-one. He next moved an address to his Majesty, praying that the House might be acquainted at what time the first demand was made for reparation from Spain for the injuries to the honour of the crown and the rights of the people, received at Falkland's Island, which was negatived by fifty-four against twenty. No report of the debate has been preserved.

(2) On his motion, for leave to bring in a bill "to explain, amend, and render more effectual the act of the 4th and 5th of William and Mary, for preventing malicious informations in the Court of King's bench, and for the more easy reversal of outlawries in the same court." The motion was negatived by 164 against 72.

motion ; in which he was supported by Sir William Meredith. Cornwall, Glynn, and Dunning were for an inquiry ; and as far as I can judge, went up to the full of what your Lordship or I could have desired. Wedderburne opposed the motion of inquiry, alleging the ill-humour and heat of the times, which rendered it most unfit. Dunning said, it was the best reason for one : Dowdeswell was silent.

In this situation, it will be to be considered what is best to be done. I shall, when I see your Lordship, tell you further particulars. Indeed, I wish Mr. Cornwall to wait on you to-morrow morning ; for he can do it with the necessary accuracy. It is next to a certainty, that Wedderburne has made his peace.

Your Lordship's most devoted,
SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Pall Mall, past nine p. m.
[Nov. 28, 1770.]

MY DEAR SIR,

I AM ashamed to propose to you to take the trouble to call at my lodgings to-morrow ; but the moment is such, that friends must naturally wish to meet as often as they can. Can you, without inconvenience or hazard to your health, be so good as to call between nine and ten to-morrow morn-

ing? I mention this early hour, because Lord Shelburne is to be with me at eleven.

You were in the House of Lords. Was ever such a state of things, or two such things as omnipotence and imbecility ever joined before? Lord Temple declined attending, and Lord Camden, you perceived, staid away. Matters are hastening to some crisis, in the interior of the thing called Opposition. I think all is ruined, and am determined to be found in my post when destruction falls upon us. The times are pollution, in the very quintessence; and the little manœuvres in Opposition behind the scenes are deplorable. I will bring matters, before it is long, to an explanation; and if Burke's picture of juries, and of that mode of justice, be to be adopted, I will separate from so unorthodox a congregation.

Adieu for the present, and believe me ever, my dear Sir,

Most faithfully and affectionately yours,

CHATHAM.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Wednesday evening, past ten.

[Nov. 28, 1770.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I WAS in the House of Lords, and would not have missed the satisfaction I received in hearing your Lordship exert yourself so nobly, so greatly,

in the cause of your country at this critical moment, for any consideration. I will add, too, that your Lordship gave me great private satisfaction, in what you so generously said about my friend Sawbridge.

I had determined waiting upon your Lordship in the morning, and will be there at the time you mention, and my firm resolution was, to presume to entreat your Lordship to come to explanation in every quarter. The whole world have their eyes upon you. This country looks to your Lordship only for salvation. It is presumption almost in an individual, an inconsiderable one, to say I will support your Lordship's plan to the last extremity, and think numbers, in the present circumstances, by no means the object. Lord Camden's not attending, causes speculations by no means favourable to him. Lord Temple's absence grieves me ; but I see some of those who call themselves his friends playing all the game, as some people term it.

Adieu, my dear Lord. I hope you will not suffer from your great fatigue ; and be assured at all times I will be found amongst the foremost of your supporters, and

Your most faithful, obliged,
and affectionate friend,

J. CALCRAFT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Thursday evening, eight o'clock.
[November 29, 1770.]

MY DEAR LORD,

MR. WEDDERBURNE was at my door this forenoon, and I since learn, in answer to a note from me to him in consequence of his visit, that he will be so good as to call upon me again to-morrow morning.

Under this circumstance, I take the liberty to beg that our meeting may be postponed till after this interview. I will, if your Lordship gives leave, be at Shelburne House between eleven and twelve, and shall be happy to meet the same company there, I had the pleasure to see this morning with you. If Mr. Dunning could be added to it, I need not express how sensible a satisfaction it would give me.

I am much satisfied with my conversation in Grosvenor Square.⁽¹⁾

I am ever, my dear Lord,

most faithfully,

and unalterably yours,

CHATHAM.

(¹) The residence of the Marquis of Rockingham.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Saturday morning, half-past eight.

[December 1, 1770.]

MY DEAR LORD,

MR. SERJEANT GLYNN was with me last night till eleven. As you have seen the Serjeant, and observed his clearness and readiness, you will not be surprised to hear, that he met the idea in the most spirited and steady manner, and undertook with alacrity to open the matter, and communicate with Wedderburne without loss of time. He has Almon's late sentence ⁽¹⁾ before him; which he thinks cannot

⁽¹⁾ Almon, the bookseller, was prosecuted for selling the Letter of Junius to the King, in the London Museum. The trial, by information, came on in the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Mansfield. The jury put a question to the court, whether the master could be deemed guilty of publishing what had been sold by his servant, and that without his knowledge? The judge answered, that he was as every master was, answerable for the acts of his servant, and the jury thereupon brought him in guilty. Almon moved for a new trial, on the ground of the evidence not proving any criminal intention, or even any knowledge of the work being sent to his shop; and affidavits were exhibited to prove that it was the property of another bookseller; sent to his shop without his privity; sold by his servant without consulting him; and that, on discovering the fact, he immediately prevented the further sale. It appeared from the report of the trial, read by Lord Mansfield, that in giving his charge to the jury, he said there was evidence of publication if they believed the witness, and directed them, if they were not satisfied that the blanks in the information were filled up according to the true sense and meaning of the writer, to acquit the defendant. The court gave an unanimous opinion, that none of the matters urged on behalf of the defendant were reasons for granting a new trial; and Almon was sentenced to pay a fine of ten marks, and to find sureties for his good beha-

be brought before the Lords, except upon very narrow grounds, by writ of error. He therefore inclines to think the better way for him is to apply to the House of Commons. I have likewise seen Townshend, who will take care of what regards the city.

I send your Lordship enclosed a note I received, just as you left me, from Guildhall, from Mr. Dunning. He will, I am confident, contrive to wait upon your Lordship either to-morrow, or else when you come to town on Wednesday. Has your Lordship any other commands? If you have, I can easily wait on you for a moment before you leave town; for I am in pain about your writing.

Your Lordship's most obliged,

and devoted

SHELBURNE.

viour for two years; himself to be bound in 400*l.*, and his sureties in 200*l.* each. The trial of Mr. Woodfall, the original printer of Junius's Letter, came on a few days after; when the jury found him guilty of printing and publishing *only*. Upon which, a motion was made by the defendant to stay the entering up of judgment on the verdict, and another by the Attorney-general, for entering a verdict according to the legal import of the finding of the jury. On the 20th of November, Lord Mansfield delivered the opinion of the court, that Mr. Woodfall being charged in the information with printing and publishing Junius's Letter, if the word *only* had not been inserted in the verdict, the court would have ordered it to be entered up as legal; but as the addition of that word seemed to imply a reservation as well as a difference of opinion in the jury, they were of opinion there was sufficient ground for a new trial; which was accordingly awarded.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

December 3, 1770.

I AM infinitely obliged to you, my dear Lord, for the trouble you have taken in communicating to me your intended motions. My opinions with regard to persons and things are and will remain unalterably the same ; but the general state of things, the great national loss which has been sustained, and the private one, which I shall for ever feel with the most lively affliction ⁽¹⁾, make me sigh after a retreat into private life ; in which I shall ever be happy to show myself your Lordship's

Most truly affectionate brother,

TEMPLE.

P. S. I beg my kindest compliments to ladies young and old ; not forgetting the male part of your amiable creation.

LORD CAMDEN TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Camden Place, December 3, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAVE reconsidered, as your Lordship wished I would, the plan proposed by your Lordship for bringing the great question about the Middlesex election before the House, and am extremely displeased with myself for differing from your Lord-

(1) The death of his brother, Mr. George Grenville, on the 13th of November. See Vol. III. p. 486.

ship ; for I have that respect for your Lordship's opinion, that I distrust my own judgment, even when I am convinced.

I own I cannot persuade myself, that your plan of coming at the principal question is the most eligible method. I will not give your Lordship the trouble of hearing again what occurred to me yesterday upon the subject ; but will only add a consideration or two, which escaped me when I had the honour of seeing your Lordship.

The point of law *in limine* will narrow the debate, and confine the speakers ; for, except your Lordship and myself, I know of no other lord that will enter the lists upon the field of law. It is a question of jurisdiction between the law courts and the House of Commons ; about which, as a detached question, the public will not be much concerned. The House have held possession ever since the case of *Ashby and White*, and will never, in any time to come, depart from their claim. Nor is it usual, as I conceive, for either House to resolve points of law, unless the subject-matter before them makes it absolutely necessary : which is not the case at present ; because other ways are open, that lead without difficulty to the principal matter : so that I apprehend any lord might, in this case, vote with a good conscience for the previous question, though he agreed to the law in the resolution. At the same time, give me leave to assure your Lordship, that my opinion upon the point perfectly coincides with your Lordship's.

The ground is solid and the doctrine legal ; and I will never abandon the principles contained in either of the resolutions.

I am, my dear Lord, with the highest respect and most perfect attachment,

Your Lordship's

most faithful friend and servant,

CAMDEN.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO LORD CAMDEN.

Hayes, Monday.

[December 3, 1770.]

MY DEAR LORD,

NOTHING can give me more pain than to find that your Lordship, upon reconsidering the motion, still continues to think as you did of its propriety. I wish, since that is so, that your Lordship had not added, in the conclusion of your obliging letter, that your opinion upon the point coincides with mine, and that the ground is solid and the doctrine legal. Had your Lordship but doubted, then I should at once forego the motion ; feeling it would be unpardonable presumption in me to have a legal idea, that is not a copy from so perfect an original.

As to the rest, my dear Lord, I trust you will pardon my not being able to see the force of the objections stated. They, all of them, stand with greater weight and more full application to the

question for reversing the resolution ; that question necessarily involving jurisdiction of the Commons, matter of law, and, at least, equally detached : the point of law also *in limine*, and no due separation of the matter as to the real jurisdiction of the Commons, as to the seat of their member ; which was not sufficiently, or at all, made last year, but by myself.

The other ways open to lead without difficulty to the debate, I confess my want of skill in discerning ; little knowing how to controvert, as a proposition, the resolution of the House, without relying solely on the doctrines, the law, and the proceedings of the Lords, as alluded to in my questions. That debate, however, seems to me better opened by my preliminary questions ; and I doubt not, when it comes, as I hope it will, your Lordship will be able to tread a ground which escapes me, and will walk clear of all the objections which I well foresee I am to debate through in my preliminary questions. Nor is it matter of objection, that my plan is two debates instead of one.

Pardon, my dear Lord, the length of this letter, and still more the in-conviction of the writer : impute to want of perception, what otherwise might too much seem want of deference, where so much is due. I am ever, with truest esteem and unalterable respect and affection, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's

most faithful friend and servant,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Hayes, Monday.

[December 3, 1770.]

MY DEAR LORD,

INCLOSED are the two resolutions I propose to move on Wednesday. Lord Camden has considered them, and says the ground is solid and the doctrine legal. His Lordship is, nevertheless, full of the weight of Lord Mansfield's arguments last year. For myself, I consider them merely as topics, not reasons. I am ashamed to recur so often to your goodness, which encourages me so kindly to be troublesome ; but as I cannot without risk of gout be in the House of Lords to-morrow, I should be infinitely obliged to your Lordship, if you would have the goodness to give notice for the Lords to be summoned for Wednesday.

Mr. Dunning's visit yesterday has filled me with the highest satisfaction. He is another being from any I have known of the profession. I will sum up his character as it strikes me, upon the honour of a first conversation. Mr. Dunning is not a lawyer, at the same time that he is the law itself. Among the many things I owe your Lordship, I am highly your debtor for the honour and pleasure of this gentleman's acquaintance. I had a singular satisfaction in seeing Lord Camden and him some time together, and being a hearer of so interesting and instructing a conversation. I am ever, &c.

CHATHAM.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Wednesday night, eight o'clock.

[December 5, 1770.]

MY DEAR LORD,

IT is impossible to inquire after your health without returning my hearty thanks, both as a private friend and an elector of England, for your Lordship's care of our birthrights, so strongly and ably asserted to-day. ⁽¹⁾ Your Lordship has fixed

⁽¹⁾ Lord Chatham had this day moved in the House of Lords, "That the capacity to be chosen a representative of the Commons in parliament being, under known restrictions and limitations of law, an original inherent right of the subject, may be cognizable in a court of law, and is a matter wherein the jurisdiction of the House of Commons (though unappealable as to the seat of their member) is not final or conclusive." In the course of his speech, he enlarged upon all the points of the Middlesex election, and urged the necessity of dissolving the parliament, as a measure that would give universal satisfaction. "Any possible quarrel between the two Houses would, he maintained, produce no worse consequences than it did in the year 1704. It was a point, he contended, that ought to be settled: the liberty of the subject, the right of election, had been invaded by an arbitrary vote of the other House; which, though only one branch of the legislature, had assumed the power of the whole; the people neither had nor could have any confidence in a House of Commons, which had committed so flagrant a violation of their dearest right: it had become odious in the eye of the present age, and its memory would be detested by posterity. The substitution of Colonel Luttrell for Mr. Wilkes demanded the severest punishment—required a dissolution." Towards the conclusion of his speech, his Lordship introduced another grievance, which he said he was informed prevailed in the courts of law, respecting juries in the case of libels, and the judgment of the court which followed. He considered the direction of the judge, not formerly, but

Lord Mansfield too, in a way that, with all his contrivance, he can never disentangle himself.

lately given to juries, to be “dangerous and unconstitutional, and the judgment of the court, in many cases, to have been cruel and vindictive: the matter of libel — of public libel — was generally a *political* matter; and the question, whether a paper was a libel or not, was not a question of *law*, but a question of *politics*, in which ministers indulged their passion of revenge, and the courts of law became their instruments of gratification.”

— Lord Mansfield, in reply, maintained that the directions now given to juries were the same that they ever had been; that he had always told a jury, that they were to judge of what appeared by the evidence in court, both respecting the publication and respecting the justification of any libel. In the course of his speech, he paid a high compliment to Lord Chatham, for his recent assertion of the legality of press-warrants.* Upon this,

The Earl of *Chatham* again rose, and said, — “My Lords, if I conceive the noble lord on the woolsack right, or have been rightly informed by the public prints, the doctrine of the King’s Bench is, that a libel or not a libel is a question of law to be decided only by the court, and the sole power of the jury is to determine upon the fact of printing and publishing. This, my Lords, I understand to be the learned lord’s opinion; but this I never understood to be the law of England; on the contrary, I always understood that the jury were competent judges of the law, as well as of the fact, and indeed if they were not, I can see no essential benefit arising from their institution to the community. I am therefore desirous, my Lords, I am earnestly desirous, that a day may be appointed for examining into the conduct of such judges as dare to establish this anti-constitutional practice in our courts. I am well assured, from the most respectable authority, that the practice is immediately subversive of our dearest rights, our most invaluable liberties; and profligate as the times may be, these are objects that interest should lead us to defend, even if we are wholly unactuated by principle. In a late trial of an imputed libel, my Lords, it was declared

* “I never had a doubt about the strict right of pressing, until I heard that Lord Mansfield had applauded Lord Chatham for delivering something like this doctrine in the House of Lords. That consideration staggered me not a little; but, upon reflection, his conduct accounts naturally for itself. He knew the doctrine was unpopular, and was eager to fix it upon the man, who is the first object of his fear and detestation.” — *Junius*, vol. ii. p. 354.

If you have half an hour to spare, I should be glad to wait upon your Lordship before you leave town. I am,

Most affectionately and respectfully,
yours,

J. CALCRAFT.

from the bench, that if the jury, instead of adding the word *only* to their verdict, had found the defendant generally guilty of printing and publishing, they would have found him guilty of the libel, even though the paper might be perfectly innocent. But where is the wonder that our laws should be perverted, when the constitution upon which those laws are built has been so infamously wounded? The superstructure may well give way, when the foundation is so notoriously destroyed. Excuse me, my Lords, for introducing the Middlesex election so frequently. I cannot but introduce it on every occasion. The right of election is the vital circulation in the body politic. Stop it, and we are politically destroyed.* What signifies talking about our laws, if the right of making those laws are violently torn from us? We cannot therefore enter upon any debate, in which the Middlesex business will not be proper; in which it will not be absolutely necessary. I shall, for my part, consider it as the alarm bell to liberty; I shall ring it incessantly in the ears of the whole kingdom, till I rouse the people to a proper sense of their injuries, and convince ministers, intrenched as they are in their venal majorities, that the privileges of Englishmen are never to be infringed with impunity."

There can be little doubt, that the above speech, like that of the 22d of November, was reported by Sir Philip Francis. The motion was got rid of by the question of adjournment; which was carried by fifty-two against twenty. The adjournment was moved by the Duke of Grafton; of whose "oratorical powers," upon this occasion, Junius gives a specimen; observing, that "of his Grace's talent for speaking, he could speak with precision, as he had often had the honour of hearing him." See vol. iii. p. 287.

* "The right of election is the very essence of the constitution. To violate that right, and much more to transfer it to any other set of men, is a step leading immediately to the dissolution of all government." — *Junius*, vol. i. p. 475.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Pall Mall, Friday, past one, p. m.
[December 7, 1770.]

I CANNOT go to Hayes without telling you, my dear Sir, how much I regret having lost the pleasure of seeing you this morning, and how much I am obliged to you for calling. Among many things which afford me high satisfaction, in the House of Commons yesterday ⁽¹⁾, the manner in which Almon's sentence was mentioned holds a principal place. Mr. Wedderburne, I hear, did, upon the matter of juries' right to judge ⁽²⁾, speak openly

⁽¹⁾ In the debate upon Serjeant Glynn's motion, "for a committee to inquire into the administration of Criminal Justice, and the proceedings of the Judges in Westminster Hall, particularly in cases relating to the Liberty of the Press, and the constitutional power and duty of Juries." After a very long and interesting debate, the motion was negatived by 184 against 76. "Let it be known to posterity," says Junius, "that when Lord Mansfield was attacked with so much vehemence in the House of Commons on Thursday, the 6th instant, not one of the ministry said a word in his defence. Nobody spoke for him, but the Carlton-house junto, Jenkinson and Sir Gilbert; even Mr. George Onslow, who in general is not very scrupulous, confined himself to the defence of Mr. Baron Smythe, and did not utter a syllable in favour of poor Mansfield. These facts show plainly, 1. how the Carlton-house connection hangs together; 2. that Lord North himself is not over and above pleased with the closet influence of the chief juggler." Vol. iii. p. 291. On the day after this debate, Lord Mansfield went down to the House of Lords, and desired that the House might be summoned for the 10th, as he had something to communicate to their lordships.

⁽²⁾ "Juries seem to me, Sir," said Mr. Wedderburne, "not

and like a man. I shall ever truly honour him. Upon the whole, the day was a good and great one for the public. I hope you have not suffered; but, be you ever so well, I beg you will not think yourself above a physician. I am ever, my dear Sir,

Most truly and affectionately yours,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO LORD CAMDEN.

Saturday, Hayes.

[December 8, 1770.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I BROUGHT hither yesterday too much of a cold for me to venture abroad this bad day, or I should have had the pleasure of being myself the bearer of inquiries after your Lordship's health and of all Camden Place. I wished also to have told your Lordship (as I now take the liberty to impart by this line) that, in the House of Lords, after it was up on Wednesday night, several lords, particularly the Duke of Richmond and Lord Rockingham, seemed

only the proper, but the sole judges of the intention, of the innocence or the malice, of a libel; because it is really and essentially a matter of fact, and not of law. It will not always, indeed, admit of proof, because it is frequently known only to the libeller; but in many cases it may be determined by the testimony of others, and when it may, there can be no doubt of its being a matter of fact, and therefore cognizable by the jury. In every possible case circumstances occur, which being established by depositions and affidavits, lead to the knowledge of the intention."

to think it would be proper to stir something relative to the posture of the kingdom for war, before the separation. I dissuaded calling for any papers or intelligences, but suggested addressing the Crown to quicken all necessary succours for Gibraltar, and perhaps Jamaica. ⁽¹⁾ This was liked; and I was much desired by Lord Rockingham to communicate the intention of some lord moving this, on Monday next, to your Lordship. I answered, I imagined that your Lordship's reasons for not appearing on my motion for Captain Hunt might perhaps still weigh; but Lord Rockingham still pressing, I acquit myself of a promise to execute his desires; not teasing your Lordship with the smallest expression of my own wishes, on a matter

(1) On Tuesday, the 11th, the Duke of Manchester moved an address to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to send a proper force to Gibraltar and the islands of Minorca and Jamaica, for their due and sufficient defence at this time. He showed the naked state of all our possessions abroad, and our defenceless condition at home. Lord Chatham confirmed this melancholy state of affairs, and added, that he had received intelligence of a plan being formed to attack Gibraltar. "Having asserted," says Junius, "that it was open to an attack from the sea, and that if the enemy were masters of the bay the place could not make any long resistance, he was answered in the following words by that great statesman the Earl of Sandwich: 'Supposing the noble lord's argument to be well founded, and supposing Gibraltar to be now unluckily taken, still, according to the noble lord's own doctrine, it would be no great matter; for although we are not masters of the sea at present, we probably shall be so sometime or other, and then, my Lords, there will be no difficulty in retaking Gibraltar.'" — Vol. iii. p. 293. The correctness of Junius's report of Lord Sandwich's speech is established by Lord Chatham's letter to Countess Stanhope of the 16th. See *post*, p. 56.

fit only for your own prudence to decide. By the account I heard of Thursday in the House of Commons, it was a very good day for the public. Mr. Glynn, Mr. Dunning, and Mr. Wedderburne having stood with much dignity and great abilities for the transcendent object now at stake. I am ever, my dear Lord,

Most faithfully and affectionately yours,

CHATHAM.

ANONYMOUS TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

[The following extract of a letter to Mr. Calcraft was forwarded by him to Lord Chatham. It is endorsed, "Received December 9, and well worth attention." The writer is understood to be Mr. Calcraft's friend and correspondent, Sir Philip Francis. See Vol. III. p. 444.]

Sunday, December 9, 1770.

SHOULD any thing more be said in Parliament, concerning the administration of justice, the following fact may be worth attending to. It is more extraordinary, and of more consequence, than you, or any man, not acquainted with the course of proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, can imagine.

In the cause of the King against Woodfall the verdict was "*guilty of printing and publishing only.*" A motion was made in arrest of judgment, by the defendant's counsel, upon this ground, that the verdict was so ambiguous, that judgment could not be entered up on it. On the other hand, it was

moved, that the verdict might be entered up according to the legal import of the words of the verdict, which, as the Solicitor General contended, amounted to "guilty." In the consideration of this matter, the court, *strictly and regularly*, could do no more than determine upon the legality of the verdict, as it appeared upon the face of the record of the proceedings at *nisi prius*. *They could not* (as is universally known in Westminster Hall) *travel out of the record*. But Lord Mansfield, in delivering the Opinion of the court, did that which is never done, except when a new trial is moved for. He went regularly through the evidence that was given at the trial, and very particularly rehearsed the charge which he had given to the jury. Now all this is flatly *irregular, extrajudicial, and unprecedented*. His reason for this proceeding was, that he might have an opportunity of saying what he had no right to say on that occasion, that the three other judges concurred with him in the doctrine laid down in his charge to the jury. ⁽¹⁾

(1) This extract was forwarded by Mr. Calcraft to Lord Chatham on Sunday, the 9th of December. On Monday the 10th, Lord Mansfield, who had desired that the House of Lords might be summoned for that day, informed their Lordships, that he had left a paper with the clerk of the House, which contained the Opinion of the Court of King's Bench in the case of the King against Woodfall, and that their lordships might read it, and take copies of it, if they pleased. *Two* reports of the speech of Lord Chatham on this occasion have been preserved; both of them taken by Junius, and in both the above extract is incorporated, not merely in substance, but almost word for word. The *first* appears in one of the Miscellaneous Letters, dated the 14th of December, only four days after the debate had taken place:—

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Pall Mall, Wednesday morning.

[December 12, 1770.]

MY DEAR LORD,

YOU mentioned last night an alternative which was in Mr. Dunning's thoughts about the way of

"The verdict given at *nisi prius* in the King and Woodfall was, *guilty of printing and publishing only*. A motion in arrest of judgment was made by the defendant's counsel, grounded upon the ambiguity of the verdict. At the same time, a motion was made by the counsel for the crown, for a rule upon the defendant, to show cause why the verdict should not be entered up according to the legal import of the words. On both motions a rule to show cause was granted, and soon after the matter was argued before the Court of King's Bench. Lord Mansfield, when he delivered the opinion of the court upon the verdict, went regularly through the whole of the proceedings at *nisi prius*, as well the evidence that had been given, as his own charge to the jury. This proceeding would have been very proper had a motion been made of either side for a new trial, because either a verdict given contrary to evidence, or an improper charge by the judge at *nisi prius*, is held to be a sufficient ground for granting a new trial; but when a motion is made in arrest of judgment, or for establishing the verdict, by entering it up according to the legal import of the words, it must be on the ground of something appearing *on the record*; and the court, in considering whether the verdict shall be established or not, are so confined to the record, that they cannot take notice of any thing that does not appear on the face of it; to make use of the legal phrase, *they cannot travel out of the record*. Lord Mansfield did travel out of the record. I affirm, therefore, with Lord Chatham, that his conduct was *irregular, extrajudicial, and unprecedented*. His real motive for doing what he knew to be wrong was, that he might have an opportunity of telling the public extrajudicially, that the other three judges agreed with him in the doctrine laid down in his charge." — Vol. iii. p. 302.

The *second*, and more carefully drawn up report of the speech, is thus introduced by Junius, in the Preface to the Letters: — "The following quotation from a speech delivered by Lord Chatham on the 10th of December, 1770, is *taken with exactness*. The reader will find it curious in itself, and very fit to be inserted here: —

proceeding, with regard to the insult offered to the House of Commons, going up with a Bill. (1) I

“ My lords, the verdict given in Woodfall’s trial was *guilty of printing and publishing ONLY* ; upon which two motions were made in court ; — one, in arrest of judgment, by the defendant’s counsel, grounded upon the ambiguity of the verdict ; the other, by the counsel for the crown, for a rule upon the defendant, to show cause, why the verdict should not be entered up according to the *legal* import of the words. On both motions a rule was granted, and soon after, the matter was argued before the Court of King’s Bench. The noble judge, when he delivered the opinion of the court upon the verdict, went regularly through the whole of the proceedings at *nisi prius*, as well the evidence that had been given, as his own charge to the jury. This proceeding would have been very proper, had a motion been made of either side for a new trial, because either a verdict given contrary to evidence, or an improper charge by the judge at *nisi prius*, is held to be a sufficient ground for granting a new trial. But when a motion is made in arrest of judgment, or for establishing the verdict, by entering it up according to the legal import of the words, it must be on the ground of something appearing *on the face of the record* ; and the court, in considering whether the verdict shall be established or not, are so confined to the *record*, that they cannot take notice of any thing that does not appear on the face of it ; in the legal phrase, *they cannot travel out of the record*. The noble judge did travel out of the record, and I affirm that his discourse was *irregular, extrajudicial and unprecedented*. His apparent motive for doing what he knew to be wrong was, that he might have an opportunity of telling the public extrajudicially, that the other three judges concurred in the doctrine laid down in his charge.” — Vol. i. p. 368.

(1) On the preceding Monday, the Duke of Manchester, in the course of his speech on the defenceless condition of Gibraltar and the islands of Minorca and Jamaica, was interrupted by Lord Gower, who desired that the House might be cleared of all but those who had a right to sit there : he observed, that when motions were brought on by surprise, no persons but peers should hear them, as in a House so crowded as it then was, there might be emissaries from the court of Spain and other powers ; and, indeed, another reason why it ought to be cleared was, that persons were admitted who took notes of what passed, as was evident from a speech made by a noble lord, which his lordship declared he had at that time in his pocket in print : there was a standing order, that none but peers should come there, and it was through indulgence that admittance was granted to any

feel how ridiculous it would be to suggest any thing to the man in England who best knows how to give

other persons. The standing order being read, the Duke of Richmond observed, that the enforcement of it would alarm the public, who would imagine their lordships were afraid their proceedings should be known. Upon this, a violent clamour arose, and *Clear the House ! clear the House !* resounded from side to side. Lord Chatham rose, and continued speaking without being heard for some time. He sent the Duke of Richmond to the Speaker, to state that he wished to speak to the construction of the standing order ; but he could not be heard. Wearied out at length with insult, he declared, that if he was not to have the privilege of a peer of parliament, and be allowed the exercise of free debate, it was idle for him to attend. He accordingly left the House, and eighteen peers followed his example. Their lordships next insisted on the members of the House of Commons being turned out. Some of them represented, that they were attending with a bill. They had no sooner delivered the bill, than the outcry recommenced, and they were actually hooted out of the House. After which it was moved and agreed to, “ That the lord on the woolsack be desired to give strict orders to the officers of the House, that no person be permitted to be in any part of the House, during the sitting thereof, except such as have a right to be in the House according to the standing orders.” Upon this extraordinary occasion, the following Protest, which is understood to have been drawn up by Lord Chatham, was entered on the Journals : —

“ Dissentient, — Because a peer, being in the course of a most spirited but proper and decent speech, introductory to a motion of importance to the public safety, which he declared it his intention to make, was, under pretence of speaking to order, interrupted in a manner equally insidious and disorderly. When the peer was thus improperly and groundlessly interrupted, and the standing order, No. 112., relative to the clearing of the House, read, another peer getting up to speak to order upon this astonishing interruption, could not obtain a hearing ; the irregular, clamorous, and indecent behaviour of several lords, who called out incessantly, *Clear the House ! clear the House !* rendering all argument, and all representation upon the subject, utterly impracticable.

“ This indecent, and hitherto unprecedented, uproar was continued,

clearness and solidity to whatever he touches. I am assured that first essential point will be secured effectually by his unerring judgment. I will only venture to intimate to your Lordship (to be carried forward to Mr. Dunning or not as you shall judge), that of two methods of going equally *solid*, I should

even when the noble lord on the woolsack stood up with his hat off to explain order : the same tumult, which at first interrupted the lord in his speech, and did not permit the lord who spoke to order to be heard, prevented also any information from the woolsack.

“ In this unexpected tumult, in which every idea of parliamentary dignity, the right of free debate, all pretence to reason and argument, were lost and annihilated, despairing of being able to hear or to be heard, we found ourselves at length obliged to leave the House ; and we cannot, without the utmost concern, reflect upon the method in which the House was cleared, thinking the personal interference of peers, and their going to the bar to require the members of the other House to withdraw, to be equally derogatory from the dignity of the lords, and disrespectful to the House of Commons.

“ We must consider this proceeding (too manifestly premeditated and prepared) to have been for no other purpose than to preclude inquiry on the part of the lords ; and, under colour of concealing secrets of state, to hide from the public eye the unjustifiable and criminal neglects of the ministry, in not making sufficient and timely provision for the national honour and security.

“ We therefore do now most solemnly protest against the whole of this irregular conduct, as tending to suppress the sober and dispassionate deliberation which ought to guide the proceedings of this House, and to substitute clamour and violence in the place of reason and argument (Signed) Richmond, Rockingham, Chatham, Northumberland, Huntingdon, Wycombe, Fitzwilliam, Abergavenny, Portland, Torrington, Manchester, Milton, Bolton, Abingdon, Ponsonby, Devonshire.”

In consequence of what had taken place, Mr. George Onslow moved, on the same day, in the House of Commons, that the House might be cleared, “ peers and all.” After which, Mr. Dunning moved for a committee “ to inspect the Journals of the House of Lords of that day, as to what proceedings and resolutions were therein, with relation to the not permitting any persons to be present in any part of the said House, during the sitting thereof.” This was negatived by forty-eight against twenty-seven.

think there would be more public utility in that method which marks the thing in the largest characters, and strikes the most without doors. Searching the Journals by a committee, a conference with the Lords, and all the solemnities attendant upon the smallest collision of great bodies in the political system, seem to me to be most eligible at this time, and upon this particular incident. Believe me, with truth and affection, most faithfully yours,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO COUNTESS STANHOPE.⁽¹⁾

[From the original, in the possession of Earl Stanhope.]

Hayes, December 16, 1770.

DEAR MADAM,

EVER since Mr. Peele delivered to me your Ladyship's note, I have lived through every day without doing what I most wished to do; and I trust that I need not add, that to offer your Ladyship my best respects and sincerest acknowledgments, has been that thing so perpetually and daily omitted. Attendance in the House of Lords, and hourly businesses out of it, but relative to it, have possessed my time wholly. The labours within the House are now the labours of Hercules; for the

⁽¹⁾ Grizel, wife of Philip, second Earl Stanhope, and daughter of Charles, Viscount Binning, who died during the lifetime of his father, Thomas, sixth Earl of Haddington. She lived to see seven generations of her family, and died at a very advanced age, in December, 1811.

House being of late kept clear of *hearers*, we are reduced to a snug party of unhearing and unfeeling lords, and the *tapestry hangings* ⁽¹⁾; which last, mute as ministers, still tell us more than all the cabinet on the subject of Spain, and the manner of treating with an insidious and haughty power.

Your Ladyship and Lord Stanhope ⁽²⁾ may have

(1) The suit of tapestry hangings, with which the House of Lords was ornamented, representing the defeat of the Spanish armada in 1588, and surrounded by portraits of the principal officers who commanded the fleet. This noble trophy was wrought in Holland, at the expense of the great Earl of Nottingham, lord-high-admiral, whose defeat of the Spanish navy had established the throne of his mistress; but it was not till 1650, during the republic, that this "suit, containing the story of 1588," was ordered "to be hung up in the late House of Lords," then used for committees of the House of Commons. In 1834 they fell a sacrifice to the conflagration which destroyed the two houses of parliament.

(2) Viscount Mahon, in his "History of England," vol. iii. p. 242., draws the following portrait of his great grandfather: — "Philip, second Earl Stanhope, was born in 1714, and therefore only seven years old at his father's decease. He had great talents, but fitter for speculation than for practical objects of action. He made himself one of the best — Lalande used to say the best — mathematicians in England of his day, and was likewise deeply skilled in other branches of science and philosophy. The Greek language was as familiar to him as the English; he was said to know every line of Homer by heart. In public life, on the contrary, he was shy, ungainly, and embarrassed. So plain was he in his dress and deportment, that, on going down to the House of Lords to take his seat, after a long absence on the Continent, the door-keeper could not believe he was a peer, and pushed him aside, saying, 'Honest man, you have no business in this place.' — 'I am sorry, indeed,' replied the Earl, 'if honest men have no business here.' From his first outset in parliament, he took part with vehemence against the administration of Sir Robert Walpole. He had

heard, that an idea has prevailed strongly here of designs against Gibraltar. Some intelligence even, on that head, having reached me, I made use of it in the House of Lords. The intelligence was not quite slighted; but a great statesman comforted us by saying, that if that place were, at present, to be taken by sea, we should retake it by sea, when we have a fleet there. ⁽¹⁾ In the mean time, Lord Howe is still here, nor do I learn that his departure is fixed. At all events, it is certainly not his fault; no man living having more zeal for the service of his country. ⁽²⁾

The day of destruction, my dear madam, seems to me not far off. The people do not yet see the imminent danger: I fear they will open their eyes soon only to despair. From such a scene your Ladyship will believe the mind passes upon the wing to the regions of freedom, and to the house of liberty, friendship, and virtue. ⁽³⁾ The thoughts of all

been educated chiefly at Leyden and Geneva, and the principles he had there formed or imbibed leaned far more to the democratical than to the kingly or aristocratical branches of the constitution; they are even termed 'republican' by Horace Walpole, but unjustly; for, like his father, he was a most zealous assertor of the Hanover suecession."

⁽¹⁾ See *antè*, p. 47., and Junius, vol. iii. p. 293.

⁽²⁾ Lord Howe resigned the treasurership of the navy in October, and on the 26th of November was appointed commander-in-chief of a squadron to be employed in the Mediterranean, on the probability of a rupture with Spain. The *Barfleur* was ordered to be fitted for his flag; but as the affair in dispute was patched up by treaty, his lordship did not at this time hoist it.

⁽³⁾ Lord and Lady Stanhope were, at this time, residing at Geneva.

Hayes go in company with mine thither frequently, respectfully, and affectionately. I am ever, my dear madam, your Ladyship's devoted servant,

CHATHAM.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Ingress, Deeember 16, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

I DID not send your Lordship any account of the Wednesday's proceedings, because I waited to tell your Lordship also the fate of Mr. Dunning's motion, which Lord George Germain undertook and made yesterday.

First, for the land tax day: Lord North alleged the four shillings necessary for this year in any event: he told us, "our situation was precarious, but *war was too probable*:" that so many more ships were ordered to be fitted as would take nine thousand additional seamen; and though Spain should come into terms of accommodation, it would be unwise to disarm whilst the warlike preparations of France and Spain continued.⁽¹⁾ He then stated the ways and means and supply, as on the budget day, to show that without war we must ex-

(¹) "Lord North told the House, that he feared *war was too probable*; and that, notwithstanding the language held by the French and Spanish ministers, there was, all over France and Spain, the greatest appearance of hostile preparations."—*Junius*, vol. iii. p. 294.

pend six millions : if war, nine millions. His Lordship pledged himself to take off the additional shilling next year, in case of peace. Mr. Dowdeswell followed Lord North in a long detail of finance, but preferred other means to additional land tax. Sir Edward Hawke attended to comfort us about the state of our navy, urging the present preparations as forward as at the beginning of the last war ; but the replies of Sir Charles Saunders and Admiral Keppel damped my confidence in Sir Edward's declarations. Barré made him tell the story about the promotion of admirals ; and the poor old man talked a deal of other stuff.

Now for yesterday : Lord George Germain moved for a conference with the Lords, was seconded by Lord George Cavendish, and most ably supported by Mr. Dunning, Colonel Barré, and Mr. Burke. Their speeches were admirable ; full of humour as well as argument. Barré described the riot in the Lords⁽¹⁾ as a mob broke in, headed by Lords Marchmont and Denbigh, of whose persons he gave the most ridiculous description. Mr. Burke paid your Lordship a very just and handsome compliment, by expressing the instruction he should receive from your Lordship's most superior abilities, by hearing you in the Upper House. In

(1) " The riot in the House of Lord has shocked the delicacy of Sir Fletcher Norton. Upon occasion of some clamour yesterday, he called to them with all the softness of a bassoon, ' Pray, gentlemen, be orderly ; you are almost as bad as the other House.' " — *Junius*, vol. iii. p. 294.

general, the House was cold, and unfeeling of the disrespect shown, though the measure of turning us out was condemned on all sides. Mr. Wedderburne did not attend either day : he does not seem quite happy. Lord George Germain was very able.⁽¹⁾ He makes two other motions this afternoon, relative to the Lords' proceedings ; and Pownall is to propose some additional clause to the mutiny bill, touching the conduct of civil magistrates on calling out the military. I am most respectfully and

Affectionately yours,

J. CALCRAFT.

A report is just come in, that the Admiralty have pressed some of the Shoreham petitioners' witnesses. I wish it may be brought home.⁽²⁾

(¹) The motion, " that a conference be desired with the Lords, upon a matter highly concerning the good correspondence between the two Houses of parliament, and the mutual civility usually shown by each House to the members of the other House," was negatived by seventy-seven against forty-two.

(²) On the 3d of December, a petition had been presented to the House, from Thomas Rumbold, Esq. complaining, that Hugh Roberts, the returning officer of New Shoreham, had returned John Purling, Esq., with only thirty-seven votes, in prejudice of the petitioner, who had eighty-seven. There was also a third candidate, who polled only four votes. " From what I hear," writes Mr. Gerard Hamilton to Mr. Calcraft, on the 1st of December, " I apprehend you will wish to be in the House on Monday. The Shoreham petition is so managed intentionally, as to bring in question the practicability of George Grenville's bill. The state of the case I conceive to be this : that bill proceeds upon the supposition, that there will be only *two* parties, the person returned, and the person petitioning :

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Ingress, December 18, 1770.

MY DEAR LORD,

LORD WEYMOUTH has resigned, and though your Lordship may probably be informed of this event, yet it is best to make sure ; so I take the liberty of writing. There is great alarm, and very great disagreement amongst the ministers. His Majesty is sick, was bled on Sunday, and had no levee yesterday. In times past, these were certain symptoms of anxiety and changes.

It is proposed to appoint a commander-in-chief, and a large staff forthwith. A general officer of ability is also to be sent to Ireland, if such a one can be found, who will serve under Lord Towns-

whereas, a case sometimes exists, where there are *three* parties ; viz. one person returned, and two persons petitioning. This case, by an omission in the bill, I really believe is totally unprovided for. Dyson and the Treasury have long been apprized of this defect. What they have done, therefore, at Shoreham, is this ; they have, in the first place, got Purling returned ; in the next place, they have set up another candidate, who has had four votes. This candidate is to present a petition ; Rumbold will, of course, present another ; and the two petitioners together, with the returned member, will make three parties. In which case, the cause cannot be tried, as the law cannot operate, and will be a dead letter. The use the court intend to make of this case is, first, to abuse the bill, and then to say, that Purling unavoidably must be the sitting member ; and for these two reasons, first, because the old method of trying elections is totally abolished by George Grenville's bill, and next, because that bill has made no provision whatever for trying the case in question. Roguery, without doubt ; but yet I have, in my lifetime, heard of many a worse election trick."

hend. Artillery is sent from Dublin to all the Irish sea-ports. The report at White's last night was, that Lord Sandwich would be secretary of state.

In consequence of Governor Johnstone's⁽¹⁾ saying in the House on Friday, that a person should clear his own honour before he attempted to protect that of a great society, or to such effect⁽²⁾, Lord George Germain demanded an explanation, which not being satisfactory, they went yesterday into Hyde Park, exchanged pistols, but neither are hurt. Mr. Thomas Townshend⁽³⁾ was Lord George's second, Sir James Lowther, Johnstone's.

(1) Governor Johnstone was the third son of Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall. He was at this time member for Cockermouth. In 1765 he was appointed governor of West Florida. He died in 1787.

(2) In consequence of the exclusion of members of the House of Commons from the House of Lords, Lord George Germain had this day moved, "That the Speaker should write to such eldest sons and heirs apparent of peers, king's serjeants, and masters in chancery, as were members, and to the attorney and solicitor general, and request them to attend in their places, every day at two o'clock, to assist in carrying bills to the Lords." In support of his motion, Lord George, among other things, observed, that what he had proposed was for the honour of the nation. Upon which, Governor Johnstone took occasion to say, that he wondered the noble lord should interest himself so deeply in the honour of the country, seeing that he had been hitherto so regardless of his own." See Parliamentary History, vol. xvi. p. 1328.

(3) "Tommy Townshend, who was Lord George's second, says, that no man living could have behaved with more coolness and resolution in all the circumstances, previous to the duel, and in the course of it." — *Mr. Gerard Hamilton to Mr. Calcraft.*

I shall be happy in hearing your Lordship continues well. Very many thanks are due for your most obliging anxiety about my health, which is much recovered; but I will not be inattentive to your Lordship's commands. All business in the House seems over till after the holydays; but without doors, the storm gathers so fast, that if your Lordship does not very speedily protect this devoted country, it will be undone beyond redemption. I am always,

Most faithfully and affectionately yours,

J. CALCRAFT.⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ In a letter to Mr. Calcraft, of the 20th, Mr. Gerard Hamilton says, "I differ from you; I still think there will be peace. The state of the Spanish negotiation I know authentically to be this:—The first news we received of the taking of Falkland Island was from the Spaniards themselves, and they then offered to disavow their governor, and they have uniformly continued to do so. Since which, they have made three propositions: 1st, That you should be restored to the possession, and afterwards treat about the right; 2dly, that if you would relinquish Falkland Island, they would relinquish some others in the neighbourhood of it, and all of them should be neutralised; 3dly, that they would be satisfied if, in the cession of the island, these words should be inserted: 'Provided the said cession should not prejudice their former right.' The last messenger went from here the 30th of last month, and is expected to return the 13th of next. The resolution of the ministry which he then carried was, that England insisted on a cession of the island, absolute and unconditional. From this high tone, the cabinet are now inclined to depart, and of this Lord Weymouth complains. Lord George Germain is to take the lead of the Rockingham party. This is what they all avow; and what seems a little extraordinary is, that they hold the language of its being absurd to go to war for an object so very frivolous as Falkland Island."

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, December 18, 1770.

MY DEAR SIR,

I RETURN you a thousand thanks for the kind trouble you are so good as to take in informing me of the interesting events contained in your letter. The resignation of Lord Weymouth is very unexpected and very significant.⁽¹⁾ I rejoice ex-

(¹) "Lord Weymouth's language upon his resignation is, that for the present he does not think himself at liberty to explain to any body the reasons for it; that they, however, will soon appear; but in general he is free to declare, that he was called upon to contradict the measures he was before directed to pursue, and this is what he would not submit to. The King pressed him to take any other employment, which he declined; but as a mark of favour, he desired the post-office for Harry*; which was immediately agreed to, by the negotiation of Lord Rochford, without the interposition of Lord North; but the post-office not being tenable with parliament, Lord Weymouth, at the desire of the ministry, brings in Bamber Gascoyne. Lord Gower and Rigby have given assurances, that they had no thoughts of resigning, and I believe they have been pressed by the King pretty hard upon that subject, and not without a mixture of threats. Sandwich declares, that he asked for the admiralty, and preferred it to the seals. The Duke of Marlborough declared to a friend of mine, that it was with difficulty they restrained the Duke of Bedford, ill as he was, from coming to the House of Lords, and endeavouring to speak against the accommodations they are going to make with Spain. Many things concur to make me think the Rockinghams have a game of their own."—*Mr. Gerard Hamilton to Mr. Calcraft.*

* The honourable Henry Frederick Thynne, second son of Thomas, second Viscount Weymouth, by Lady Louisa Carteret. He retained the joint-mastership till 1789; in 1784, was created Baron Carteret, and died in 1826, at the age of ninety-one.

tremely at the issue of the meeting in Hyde Park, and I consider that Lord George Germain is becoming every day more and more important to the public : his abilities are certainly good. The new secretary of state talked of will not strengthen ministry, or prop the falling House. I think the infatuation at St. James's unexampled, and I look upon the day of destruction to be at hand ; speaking not figuratively. I am ever, with the truest affection, my dear Sir,

Most unalterably yours,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, December 29, 1770.

A THOUSAND thanks to you, my dear Sir, for your very obliging attention in sending me the news from Paris (¹), which is important. What

(¹) The dismissal of the Duc de Choiseul, through the influence of the party who acted in conjunction with Madame du Barry. Horace Walpole, writing on the same day to General Conway, says, "The Duc de Choiseul is fallen ! The event happened last Monday night. The Duke was allowed but three hours to prepare himself, and ordered to retire to his seat at Chanteloup ; but some letters say, *il ira plus loin*. The Duc de Praslin is banished too. It is concluded, that the Duc d'Aiguillon is prime minister, but was not named so in the first hurry. There ! there is a revolution ! there is a new scene opened ! Will it advance the war ? will it make peace ? These are the questions all mankind is asking."

the new influence will prove, I cannot conjecture ; but sure it is, that the moving springs of the cabinet in France are not such as need strike England with fear. War I take to be certain, be the ministry what it may at Versailles ; and I do not believe the change will give more ability to their councils, or more satisfaction to their people. I hear nothing new from London. My neighbour⁽¹⁾ seems to credit the talk of Bathurst for the seals ; for myself, I cannot conceive infatuation to go so far, in such a moment. “ Quos Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat.”

I am ever, very affectionately, yours,
CHATHAM.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Ingress, January 14, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

LORD SANDWICH has the Admiralty, and is to be sworn in to-morrow : his Bedford House friends disapprove his taking it. There have been many difficulties about his Lordship's successor ; who probably will be Lord Suffolk, who came to town on Saturday, and Mr. Wedderburne attorney-general. Thurlow now acquiesces in being chief-justice of Chester ; but Moreton refuses to be a judge, though a large pension is offered his wife, which retards this

(¹) Lord Camden.

arrangement. Lord Chief Justice Wilmot is impatient to resign, but pressed to continue another term. Mr. De Grey is again talked of for lord keeper.

The Duke of Bedford lies at the point of death.⁽¹⁾ Alderman Sawbridge is in great danger. Cardinal Bernis is said to be coming from Rome ⁽²⁾ to be minister of France. Lord Mansfield has made Markham a bishop ⁽³⁾; Thurlow's brother ⁽⁴⁾ has the golden prebend of Durham; Robinson's brother the living of Stanhope, 800*l.* a year; Lord Sandwich's chaplain, Scott ⁽⁵⁾, who wrote *Anti-Sejanus*, two good crown livings. War, according to my intelligence, is more and more certain. A letter

(¹) His grace died on the following day, at his house in Bloomsbury Square, in his sixty-first year.

(²) Cardinal Bernis was at this time French ambassador at the court of Rome.

(³) Dr. Markham was made bishop of Chester, in the room of Dr. Keene. In 1776, he was translated to the archbishopric of York, and died in 1807. For an interesting letter of the Doctor, soliciting the influence of the Duchess of Queensbury with Mr. Pitt to procure Mr. Burke the British consulship at Madrid, see Vol. I. p. 430.

(⁴) Dr. Thomas Thurlow. In 1773, he was made master of the Temple; in 1779, consecrated bishop of Lincoln; and in 1787, advanced to the see of Durham. He died in 1791.

(⁵) The reverend Dr. James Scott, of Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1765, he wrote the letters signed "*Anti-Sejanus*," which appeared in the *Public Advertiser*, and were so popular, that they raised the sale of the paper from fifteen hundred to three thousand a day. These letters were never collected; but many of them were published, in 1767, in a work entitled "*A Collection of interesting Letters*." The living to which he was presented, through the interest of Lord Sandwich, was that of the rectory of Simonburn, in Northumberland. He died in 1814.

just received has the following paragraph : —“ By the messenger despatched to Spain on the 21st of last month, Harris ⁽¹⁾ was recalled, and had orders to intimate to all English commanders of ships, that it might be expedient for them to leave the Spanish ports. The French and Spanish ambassadors complain of the utmost perfidy in this transaction; alleging, that the ministry were treating with them upon the most friendly footing, and holding out the most moderate terms of accommodation, at the very moment they despatched the messenger to Spain with these orders.” This is not the most authentic, but a tolerably good correspondent. I am, my dear Lord,

Most respectfully and affectionately yours,

J. CALCRAFT.

(1) James Harris, Esq. eldest son of James Harris of Salisbury, author of “Hermes; or a Philosophical Enquiry concerning Universal Grammar;”—a work pronounced by Bishop Lowth to be “the most beautiful and perfect example of analysis, that has been exhibited since the days of Aristotle.” Mr. Harris was at this time minister to the court of Madrid. In 1772, he was sent envoy extraordinary to that of Berlin; in 1776, in the same capacity to St. Petersburg; in 1784, ambassador to the Hague; and in 1796, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the French republic, to negotiate a treaty of peace at Lisle. In 1788, he was elevated to the peerage by the title of Lord Malmesbury, and in 1800, advanced to an earldom, by the titles of Viscount Fitzharris and Earl of Malmesbury. His lordship died in 1820, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the present earl. He published, in 1788, an Introduction to the History of the Dutch Republic, and in 1801, an edition of his father’s Works, in two volumes quarto; to which he prefixed a Memoir of his Life.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Ingress, Monday, January 21, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

THOUGH earlier information may make this superfluous, yet the following extract of a letter, dated Sunday night, seems so very material, that I despatch it directly : —

“ My intelligence of the French court’s having raised its tone is strictly true ; and it seems they have done so very effectually. Our honest ministers have lowered theirs in proportion. At this very moment, I believe the compromise is concluded. My own judgment assures me, it is the most ignominious one that ever was made for this country, and I have the surest information to confirm me in my opinion. I am now convinced, that there are no conditions to which Lord North was not determined to submit. If there had been one spark of shame, a single atom of honour, in the composition of our ministry, war was inevitable. Look to yourselves, you gentlemen who have something to lose ! The ministry have views of conquest, though not over the enemies of England. The French and Spanish ministers tendered preliminaries to Lord North, and told him stiffly, that unless they were accepted, they would not proceed to explain themselves in regard to terms of accommodation. Our ministry have received the law in every sense. I know this, by the strangest and

surest channel. Perhaps, after all, this very measure they have plunged into to save themselves from ruin may hasten their destruction."

I have no intimation of business for to-morrow ; yet I mean to go up to parliament, and will receive any commands your Lordship may have, either at Hayes on my way or in town, as I hear from your Lordship. To-day I am kept at home ; and always am,

Most respectfully and affectionately yours,

J. CALCRAFT.⁽¹⁾

(¹) On the preceding day, Sunday, the 20th, Mr. Calcraft received the following letter from Mr. Gerard Hamilton : — " I came to town to-day at one, and found your note. The language from all quarters is peace ; and, indeed, it always seemed astonishing to me how any one could suppose, that the court and the ministry were not determined to make it, at all events, and upon any terms. The Rockinghams seem dejected beyond measure. The Irish parliament is not to meet : no truth in Sir Fletcher's having the common pleas. Thurlow is to be Attorney-general. He went to Dunning and pressed him to be Attorney, and told him, that he never would hold office under Wedderburne, but should be happy to act as Solicitor under him. You know, I suppose, that on Wednesday Lord Suffolk was to have kissed hands for privy-seal, and Lord Halifax for secretary of state ; but, in his way to court, Lord Suffolk happened to call on Lord North, and ask him if Wedderburne was to kiss hands as Attorney upon the same day ; and upon Lord North's informing him, that Wedderburne's promotion was what he exceedingly wished but could not accomplish, Lord Suffolk refused to accept ; and in the evening he was informed, by a note from Lord North, that the King had ordered him to make an offer of the seals to Lord Dartmouth, who refused them. Since which, I am told, they have been offered to Lord Hardwicke ; but I do not know this from authority. The negotiation, however, is renewed with Lord Suffolk, and at his own desire ; and I think that the arrangement formerly intended will now take

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

January 21, 1771.

A THOUSAND thanks, my dear Sir, for the obliging favour of your letter, containing intelligence so material, and seemingly authentic. What had reached me, so late as Saturday, was of a different tenor; namely, that the ministers knew nothing certain as to peace; wished it, if attainable, but had not lowered their ideas of the conditions; that the stocks rose on the knowledge our court has of the King of France having written to the King of Spain, disclaiming the thoughts of war; but that total ignorance prevailed as yet, what effect the letter of one monarch had on the purpose of the other; nay, father, that, in point of time, it was not possible it could be known.

The air of the intelligence you are so good as to send me, is such as cannot but engage most serious attention; though I own I doubt whether despair can suggest so bold and dangerous a decision, even to a court as shameless as it is incapable. A very short space must bring all to light, and show if the nation of English is the tamest and vilest in Europe—grieved to add my fears, that it may be found so. In the mean time, it is a con-

place, as far as relates to him; but not to Wedderburne. Dr. Heberden says, that unless Sawbridge leaves off politics, he is a dead man."

solation to see individuals hold a handsome conduct. Lord Lyttelton and my nephew (amongst those called Mr. Grenville's friends) stand with very honourable distinction, from their clearness and firmness, in the present moment of tampering: others also may perhaps finally stand; but all the world think they have staggered.

My gout is, thank God, gone off kindly, and I am tolerably upon my legs; but if no business comes on—and none can in the course of this week, unless from ministry—I shall probably be much abler to attend the following week. If you can call at Hayes without too much inconvenience to-morrow, you will make me particularly happy.

I am ever, my dear Sir, very affectionately,

CHATHAM.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BARRÉ TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Manchester Buildings, Tuesday, 4 o'clock.
[January 22, 1771.]

MY LORD,

I TAKE up the pen in a hurry to acquaint your Lordship, that I am just returned from the House of Commons, where Lord North informed us, that Prince Masserano had this morning presented a declaration, signed by the King of Spain, which his Majesty had accepted of, and which would be laid before the House on Friday next. No day

is fixed upon for the consideration of it ; but we have moved for a call of the House on this day fortnight.

The terms, as I am informed, are not very honourable — “ The disgrace of Bucarelli⁽¹⁾ ; the island to be put into our possession ; and it is whispered, that there is a secret article to save the rights and pretensions in that country of the crown of Spain ; which seems to promise our abandoning the spot silently, upon some future day.”

If your Lordship should have any sort of commands for me, I shall be happy in obeying them in such manner as will give your Lordship the least trouble. It will give me great pleasure to hear that the gout continues to be favourable, especially at a time when this country stands in so much need of your Lordship’s firmness and abilities. I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration and respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship’s most devoted
and most faithful servant,

ISAAC BARRÉ.⁽²⁾

(1) The Spanish governor of Port Egmont.

(2) In a letter to Lord Chatham, of this day’s date, Lord Camden says, — “ All the vacant offices are filled up, and the arrangement is completed. The seals are given to Mr. Justice Bathurst ; the attorney-general is to be lord chief justice of the common pleas ; Lord Halifax secretary of state ; Lord Suffolk privy-seal ; Thurlow attorney-general, and Wedderburne solicitor-general. I make no remark upon all this. I am not surprised, but grieved.”

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ.

Hayes, January 22, 1771, seven o'clock.

SIR,

I AM extremely obliged to you for your very kind attention in communicating the event of the day, in the House of Commons. I confess, I did not expect that the court of Spain would have fallen in with the views of Versailles (at least so soon), considering the character of the Spanish monarch. The outside of the conditions is better than I augured, in as far as concerns the disgrace of Bucarelli: the secret article, with regard to the right and pretensions of the crown of Spain (if it be as intimated), is lower and more abject, as well as more dangerous in consequence and extent, than I could imagine even our ministry could have furnished hearts to conceive, heads to contrive, or hands to execute. But, to speak the plain truth, I believe ministry see little, and a certain place does not feel at all: a little time will show whether the nation, too, has lost its feeling; perhaps the paralytic numbness is so absolute, that electrifying will not restore the least sensation.

I take it for granted, that the same declaration will be laid before the *Tapestry* on Friday, which will be offered to the live figures in St. Stephen's. I propose being in town on Friday morning, in order to attend my duty in the silly drama, and be always

ready to point out, as well as I can, the grossness of the wires which move so sad a performance.

I am, with truest esteem and consideration,

Your most faithful, and most

obedient humble servant,

CHATHAM.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Sackville Street, Tuesday evening, 5 o'clock.

[January 22, 1771.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I got to town just as the two Houses broke up. The few people left told me news enough. Lord North gave notice to the Commons, that the Spanish minister had delivered a declaration to his Majesty this morning, which had satisfied him, and that it would be laid before parliament on Friday. Mr. Burke moved a call for this day fortnight, which is ordered; Lord Sandwich gave notice to their Lordships, that this declaration would be laid before them on Friday. Poor Lord Lyttelton does not seem to be in very high spirits. He desires me to tell your Lordship, this is the best peace ever made for England; other people say the most disgraceful: my Lord's information is, that the ministers have got every thing they ever asked. No paper from Lord Mansfield delivered to-day. Bathurst⁽¹⁾ is

(1) The honourable Henry Bathurst, eldest surviving son of

chancellor ; De Grey is chief justice of the common pleas ; Thurlow attorney-general ; Mr. Wedderburne solicitor-general and Queen's chancellor. Good Mr. Whately⁽¹⁾, for his services, has the

Allen Lord Bathurst. On being appointed Lord Chancellor, he was created Lord Apsley, baron of Apsley, in Sussex. In 1775, he succeeded his father as Earl Bathurst ; in 1778 resigned the chancellorship ; and in 1779 was appointed president of the council. He died in 1794.

(1) Thomas Whately, Esq., at this time under secretary to Lord Suffolk, and member for Castle Rising. He had held the office of secretary to the treasury during Mr. Grenville's administration, and was that gentleman's private secretary when he was one of the secretaries of state ; at which time, Sir Philip Francis held a situation *in the same office* under Lord Egremont ; "this contiguity of station," observes the author of Junius Identified, "affording him frequent opportunities of acquiring all that intimate and oracular knowledge of Mr. Whately," which is evinced in the following extract from Junius : — "This poor man, with the talents of an attorney, sets up for an ambassador, and with the agility of Colonel Bodens undertakes to be a courier. Indeed, Tom ! you have betrayed yourself too soon. Mr. Grenville, your friend, your patron, your benefactor, who raised you from a depth, compared to which even Bradshaw's family stands on an eminence, was hardly cold in his grave, when you solicited the office of go-between to Lord North. You could not, in my eyes, be more contemptible, though you were convicted (as I dare say you might be) of having constantly betrayed him in his lifetime. Since I know your employment, be assured I shall watch you attentively. Every journey you take, every message you carry, shall be immediately laid before the public. Tom Whately, take care of yourself !" — Vol. iii. p. 310. Mr. Whately was the author of two pamphlets in defence of Mr. Grenville's financial measures, and also of an ingenious work, entitled "An Essay on Design in Gardening." In January 1772, he was made keeper of the King's private roads, gates, and bridges, and conductor of his person in all royal progresses ; and died in the June following.

choice either of board of trade or green cloth. Lord Halifax is secretary of state, and the Earl of Suffolk⁽¹⁾ privy seal.

I have been told there were violent disputes in the cabinet, when they met to settle this convention ; but I have seen no private friends as yet, and despatch this, that your Lordship may get it before bed-time ; trusting that you will allow me to trouble you with another letter to-morrow, if necessary, and excuse the incorrectness of this hasty scrawl. Lord Rockingham's friends hope to see him this week.

I hope your Lordship will allow me to trouble you with my best compliments to Lady Chatham, and at all times to subscribe myself,

Most respectfully and affectionately, yours,

JOHN CALCRAFT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, Tuesday night, 9 o'clock.
[January 22, 1771.]

A THOUSAND thanks, my dear Sir, for your most kind attention in sending me the events of the day in the Houses of Parliament. The convention is not yet before the public ; but be the outside of

(1) Henry Howard, twelfth Earl of Suffolk and fifth Earl of Berkeley ; on the death of the Earl of Effingham, in 1763, nominated by the Duke of Norfolk deputy earl marshal of England. In June, his lordship was appointed principal secretary of state for the northern department. He died in 1779.

the conditions as they may (and I conclude they are plausible), I will venture to pronounce that the inside, the secret article or declaration, is the most abject and dangerous sacrifice of the rights of England, that ever was submitted to. The whole will be found to be an ignominious collusion with the present views of France; and that we relieve her from her distresses, and are trying to save her interests and honour, on the side of Turkey. I grieve that so good a man as Lord Lyttelton has fallen into the snare of a court, who cover so clumsily the gross and palpable imposition; but a fatality seems over us, when integrity pins its faith on the sleeve of duplicity, and the virtuous become the indirect instruments of the wicked. The part of Wedderburne is deplorable; of Lord Suffolk pitiable.

I shall be happy to hear again from you to-morrow. I propose being in town on Friday morning, when I hope for the pleasure of seeing you. A private friend like you is rare in these times; a true friend to the public like yourself rarer still. Lady Chatham feels, as it deserves, a suffrage and attention honourable as those you so obligingly express; and I feel more than I know how to say, that I am unalterably, my dear Sir,

Most affectionately yours,

CHATHAM.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND⁽¹⁾ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Whitehall, Wednesday, half-past one.
January 23, 1771.

MY LORD,

YOUR Lordship has probably heard of the events which yesterday produced. Lord Halifax secretary of state, Lord Suffolk privy seal, Mr. Justice Bathurst chancellor, &c. These great changes are accompanied with a peace. Lord Rochford, in the House of Lords, said that the Spanish ambassador, by order of the King his master, had presented a declaration relative to the disputes about Falkland's Island, which the King had ordered him to accept, and to lay it before the House on Friday next. Lord North, in the House of Commons, held the same language, and Mr. Burke moved a call of the House for Tuesday se'nnight.

(1) Charles Lenox, third Duke of Richmond. During the short Rockingham administration, his Grace filled the situation of principal secretary of state for the southern department. See Vol. II. p. 415. In 1782, he was appointed master-general of the ordnance; which situation, with the interruption of six months, he held till 1795. He died in 1806. His Grace was a patron of the fine arts, and in 1758 ordered a room to be opened at his house at Whitehall, containing a large collection of original plaster casts, from the best antique busts and statues at Rome and Florence, to which all artists, and youths above twelve years of age, had ready access. For the encouragement of genius, he also bestowed two medals annually on those who executed the two best models. In 1780, the Duke presented to the House of Lords a bill for restoring annual parliaments and universal suffrage; which was immediately rejected.

So many important events have made many lords desirous of having a previous meeting, to concert what steps might be proper to take on Friday; and as Lord Rockingham's return to London is uncertain, I have been desired to have it at my house to-morrow evening, between seven and eight o'clock. I have accordingly desired the company of some lords, and shall be proud of the honour of your Lordship's.

But as such a variety of events will necessarily require more private discussion than can be had at a general meeting, it has been wished by some of our friends, that Lord John Cavendish and I should have some previous conversation with your Lordship. Indeed, it seems necessary, after the late defection, that we should show no languor, but by some spirited conduct tell the world, as early as possible, that we remain steady and firm in the cause we have undertaken. Lord John and I should be glad to know the time and place that will be most convenient to your Lordship to permit us to see you.

It is with the utmost respect and the highest esteem that I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obedient and sincere

humble servant,

RICHMOND, ETC.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

January 23, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

PEOPLE are exasperated almost to madness at this convention ; which, on all hands, is agreed to be most infamous. It is the work of Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, who has conducted it throughout. Lord Rochford did not know positively how it would end till Saturday noon, though it was settled on Friday morning. As a proof, he and one Mr. Fakeney, his manager, are said to be ruined in the funds ; so is Mr. Bradshaw.⁽¹⁾ The most certain account I can get of the declaration is, “ That the King of Spain condescends, from love and affection to his dear brother the King of France, to relinquish Falkland Island, but protests against any English claim to the right ;” or words to this effect. No censure whatsoever of Bucarelli ; on

(1) Thomas Bradshaw, Esq., member for Saltash, and joint secretary to the treasury. According to Junius, by whom this gentleman is invariably ridiculed and censured, he was “ originally a clerk to a contractor for forage, and was afterwards exalted to a petty post in the War Office.” The appointment of his brother-in-law, Mr. Chamier, the immediate rival of Sir Philip Francis in that office, to be chief secretary, greatly enraged Junius ; but all his efforts to remove him were in vain. “ The deputy,” says the author of *Junius Identified*, p. 67., “ retained his situation ; and the remonstrances of that writer, so far from producing the effect he intended, were injurious to those whom he desired to befriend ; for, as he tells us himself, ‘ the worthy Lord Barrington, not contented with having driven Mr. D’Oyley out of the War Office to make room for Chamier, at last contrived to expel Mr. Francis.’ ” In the following year, Mr. Bradshaw was made a lord of the admiralty, and died in 1774.

the contrary, he is said to be appointed viceroy of Navarre.

Notwithstanding many reports to the contrary, Lord Clive is full of indignation at the desertion of Wedderburne ⁽¹⁾, &c.; and hints are conveyed to me, that he wishes a nearer connection with your Lordship.

Mr. Dowdeswell has desired me to attend a meeting at his house to-morrow, to consider the mode of proceeding on Friday. I presume your Lordship would wish me there: that will be as you please. I understand communication is had with you on this subject to-day. The Rockingham friends in our House are courting confidence and union with your Lordship and those attached to you, with unusual eagerness.

Augustus Hervey ⁽²⁾ is a lord of the admiralty; Mr. Nassau ⁽³⁾ has either the board of trade or green cloth; Rigby is threatened with a partner in the pay office; the poor Duke of Grafton longing to get

(1) Mr. Wedderburne had, in January, 1770, been returned to parliament, through the interest of Lord Clive. See Vol. III. p. 357.

(2) The honourable Augustus John Hervey, second son of John Lord Hervey. He was at this time member for Bury St. Edmunds. In 1775, he succeeded his brother as third Earl of Bristol, and died in 1779. In 1744, he married privately the celebrated Miss Chudleigh, who, in 1769, espoused the Duke of Kingston; for which offence she was impeached before the House of Lords, and the marriage declared illegal.

(3) The honourable Richard Savage Nassau, brother of the Earl of Roehford, and member for Malden. He was appointed one of the clerks of the board of green cloth; which situation he held till his death in 1780.

to Opposition ; Lord Weymouth begging another employment ; Lord North exulting, that there is none for him. Nares (¹) is the new judge.

My pen is by no means equal to the expression of those feelings which your Lordship's approbation and friendship excite in my mind. Believe me, my dear Lord, the attachment I so ardently feel towards your Lordship proceeds from the heart, and shall be the honour of my life. Lord Temple is expected to-morrow. Opposition seem determined to put the best leg foremost, and hope for your presence on Friday. I am at all times,

Most respectfully and

affectionately yours,

JOHN CALCRAFT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, Wednesday night, past seven.

[January 23, 1771.]

MY DEAR SIR,

I REJOICE to see, by the favour of your very kind letter, that people have found some feeling. I still fear, however, that England will prove itself a nation of slaves, in the present consummation of insult and ignominy, heaped upon them by an abandoned and flagitious court. The activity of

(¹) Mr. Serjeant Nares was at this time member for the city of Oxford. He was knighted, and appointed one of the judges of the court of common pleas ; which situation he continued to hold till his death, in 1786.

Mackenzie, at this moment, ought to call up more than ordinary indignation : but England, at this day, is no more like to Old England, or England forty years ago, than the Monsignori of modern Rome are like to the Decii, the Gracchi, or the Catos. I am not a little pleased that Lord Clive is indignant at the shameless desertion of the public ; I grieve over the repentance of Lord Weymouth, and laugh at the situation of the Duke of Grafton. I had determined being in the House of Lords on Friday ; but, upon a letter I have had the honour to receive from the Duke of Richmond to-day, I propose to go to town to-morrow, in order to see his Grace and Lord John Cavendish.

You are infinitely kind to consult my wishes about going to the meeting at Mr. Dowdeswell's. I highly applaud your intention, and think this no time to remember what quarter may have been wanting to us in any thing ; but to consider only what is wanting to the public. I meet with sincerity and cordiality whoever stand for the rights of the people, and for the national honour ; both trodden down in this sad state of pollution and degeneracy. I do not know Nares, but conclude he has all the merit Lord Mansfield and the times require.

If you can do me the favour to call at my lodgings to-morrow after dinner, you will make me happy ; and we may then mutually impart what occurs. Lady Chatham is just returned from town, thank God, well, and undismayed ; but

robbed by a gang of six footpads, near Lewisham. She desires to present her best compliments. I am ever, with truest esteem and affection, my dear Sir, most unalterably

Yours,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ.

Pall Mall, Thursday, 3 o'clock.

[January 24, 1771.]

DEAR SIR,

UPON a letter yesterday from the Duke of Richmond, I am come to town, and have had a conversation with his Grace and Lord John Cavendish, on a plan for to-morrow's operation. It has appeared to us equally, that the day should not pass in inaction: to call for lights, the better to judge of the compromise, seems most likely to fall in with most sentiments. In this view it is thought that a motion for papers, much like what has been already refused, may be proper, and a further motion to the following effect; viz. for copies of all negotiations with the crown of Spain, touching reparation for the insults against the honour of his Majesty's crown, and for the violation of the rights of the people, committed at Falkland Island, since , a date to be considered; suppose the first of June last. I could not omit a moment to communicate

this to you, for your thoughts, hoping it will meet with your approbation and concurrence.

I understand there is a meeting to-night at Mr. Dowdeswell's; of which, to be sure, you will have had notice. As I promise myself the pleasure of seeing you to-morrow, I will add no more to your trouble at present, than to say, I have the satisfaction to find some spirits still alive.

I have the honour to be, with truest esteem and consideration, dear Sir,

Your most faithful,
and most obedient, humble servant,

CHATHAM.

LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Thursday, half-past four.
[January 24, 1771.]

MY LORD,

I AM this moment honoured with your Lordship's letter. Mr. Dowdeswell's meeting I shall most certainly attend, and am extremely happy to hear of so much spirit as well as judgment in that quarter; the early application for your Lordship's opinion and support being equally a proof of both.

The frigate from Falkland Island arrived here, I think, on the 30th of May: by my information, which I had the honour of communicating to your Lordship, the Spanish ambassador had given notice, before the arrival of this ship, of the event; and

therefore I submit to your Lordship's better judgment, whether an earlier date than the first of June should not be taken.

My sincerest thanks are due to your Lordship for the honour of this communication. I shall certainly be punctual to-morrow morning, and hope you will do me the justice to believe that I am, with the highest respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

most faithful and most

obedient servant,

I. BARRÉ.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Friday evening, January 25, 1771.

PAST six; just returned from the *Tapestry* ⁽¹⁾, I take up the pen before the knife and fork, to tell my love, that nothing memorable has passed in the debate. We called for papers enough; the ministry, or rather Lord Rochford, candid in granting one large demand; negative to a second. ⁽²⁾ The De-

(1) See *antè*, p. 55.

(2) The Duke of Manchester having this day moved for all the information which had been received by government of the designs of Spain upon Falkland Island, and the papers that had passed in the subsequent negotiation for the reparation of that injury, Lord Rochford moved an amendment, limiting the inquiry to the subject of Falkland Island. Lord Sandwich moved another amendment, which the Duke of Richmond said nar-

claration and acceptance infamous and criminal, to my judgment, beyond the famous Convention in days of yore. ⁽¹⁾ The House all ice ; the day necessarily dull, upon the plan of calling for lights in order to future judgment. Lord Lyttelton took his part with us well, and, to use the Pall Mall word, *amiably*. Lord Camden right ; the Duke of Northumberland most honourable, and him-

rowed the motion ; Lord Sandwich, on the contrary, contended that it enlarged it. Upon which, Lord Chatham remarked, "that this generosity in giving more than was asked was very suspicious ; that if administration had no objection to what was asked, why not give it, without making any alteration in the motion ? The public would suspect that something was meant to be kept back. He said, he would not go into the matter of the Declaration, but, upon the face of it, it appeared to be an ignominious compromise. It was no satisfaction, no reparation. The right was not secured, and even the restitution was incomplete ; Port Egmont alone was restored, not Falkland Island." The amendment being withdrawn, and the original motion agreed to, the Duke of Richmond next moved, for all the memorials or other papers which had passed between his Majesty's ministers and the ministers of the King of France, relating to the seizure of Falkland Island by the Spaniards. Lord Rochford said, he knew of no such papers. Lord Chatham contended, "that the House ought never to take the word of a minister ; that the refusing the motion showed that some transaction with France had passed, perhaps not papers or memorials : as the noble Lord said none had passed, he believed him ; but that France had interfered, he knew to be a fact that could not be denied." The motion was negatived. No fuller report of Lord Chatham's speeches on this occasion have been preserved ; though the papers of the following day state, that the last occupied upwards of an hour.

(1) The Convention between Great Britain and Spain, signed at the Pardo, in January, 1739.

self; the more so, because *bonâ fide* doubting our plan.

The new great seal ⁽¹⁾ looked like the sun shorn of his beams. The Duke of Richmond and I both digressed a little, to recommend this ignominious business to further censure; but reservedly and shortly. How it will turn out, I do not yet see sufficiently, but I suspect the weight of the *Alley* ⁽²⁾ is prevalent.

I purpose staying in town to-morrow, and returning with our dear boy on Sunday to dinner. He is perfectly well, and not a little happy. Good night! I expect Lord Temple every minute.

CHATHAM.

⁽¹⁾ Lord Apsley, the new chancellor, had this day taken his seat on the woolsack.

⁽²⁾ "The nation," said Colonel Barré, on the same day, in the House of Commons, "is exposed to insults abroad, and left a prey to jobbers and sharpers at home: a French secretary, being in your secrets, has made nearly half a million of money by gaming in your funds; and some of the highest among yourselves have been deeply concerned in the same scandalous traffic." The Frenchman alluded to was M. François, secretary to the French ambassador. According to the newspapers of the day, the Spanish minister had orders to sign the declaration six days before he did; of which the said secretary and others being apprized, duped their friends, and compelled six lame ducks to waddle out of the *Alley* on the 24th. In the course of the session, a bill was brought into the House of Commons, "for the more effectually preventing the infamous practice of stock-jobbing." It passed the committee, but was not further proceeded in.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Whitehall, Wednesday night,
January 30, 1771.

MY LORD,

I FIND the ministers say the Spanish papers will be laid before the two Houses on Friday next, and that they will do nothing, but wait for our motions. Some of our friends, whom I have talked with upon this subject, think it will be best to have the papers read the same day, that every body may have a knowledge of their contents, which could not be so soon and so generally obtained by private inspection, or by having copies made; that it will be right then to appoint that day se'nnight to take them into consideration, and, in the mean time, to have a meeting on Sunday evening, to prepare matters for the Friday following; and if any further information is wanting, to settle a motion for obtaining it.

Previous to this meeting, I could wish to have the honour of some conversation with your Lordship, on this and some other subjects. Perhaps you will not be sorry to be in the House on Friday, to hear the papers read, and will permit me to wait on you the next morning? I hope to hear that your Lordship's gout diminishes. It is with great respect, that I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, and

Most humble servant,

RICHMOND, ETC.

LORD CAMDEN TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Lincoln's Inn Fields, February 5, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

I SPENT the whole evening last night in considering the law point of your Lordship's questions. I wish I had still more time to revolve it, and to consult my friends of the profession, upon the subject. It is true, indeed, that your Lordship threw out some hints of your Lordship's ideas a week ago ; but as I concluded that point would be the subject of some future consideration, I laid it aside after a little careless reflection. I am, therefore, extremely concerned at your Lordship's hasty introduction of this business yesterday ; because there is now no possibility of withdrawing the intended motion, even if your Lordship should be convinced that the law is the other way.

Your Lordship is very good in telling me that no person is bound to second or support the opinion, and that you alone are responsible for the event of it. I am obliged to your Lordship for the permission to differ, and know by experience that you never expect from any man a forced opinion ; yet you must give me leave to say, that when I do unfortunately dissent from your Lordship in any public question, I am mortified beyond description ; for nothing goes nearer to my heart, than to desert that banner under which I have been so long accustomed to engage.

Your Lordship must conclude, from this preamble, that I have my doubts upon the illegality of the King's acceptance. Indeed, my dear Lord, I have; for I cannot satisfy myself that the reservation of the question of right, in the King of Spain's declaration, does in anywise touch the King of Great Britain's right of sovereignty. That becomes absolute, *jure coronæ*, from the moment the restitution takes place. Nor does it seem to me, the King's title is abridged or limited; inasmuch as the reservation neither denies the right on one side, nor asserts it on the other. That question remains as it stood before the hostility; the King of Spain declaring only, that he ought not to be precluded from his former claim by this act of possessory restitution. ⁽¹⁾

(1) The following are the two questions referred to in the above letter, and which Lord Chatham this day moved should be referred to the judges:—1st, "Whether, in consideration of law, the imperial crown of the realm can hold any territories or possessions thereunto belonging, otherwise than in sovereignty? 2dly, Whether the declaration or instrument, for restitution of the port or fort called Egmont, to be made by the Catholic King to his Majesty, under a reservation of a disputed right of sovereignty, expressed in the very declaration or instrument stipulating such restitution, can be accepted or carried into execution, without derogating from the maxim of law before referred to, touching the inherent and essential dignity of the crown of Great Britain?" After a long debate, of which no traces have been preserved, as all strangers were rigidly excluded, the motion was negatived by sixty-nine against twenty-two. This is the debate at which JUNIUS was so anxious to be present, that he wrote, on the 31st of January, to Woodfall, entreating him to insert in the Public Advertiser the four following paragraphs in rotation, as it was of the

I will not say, that my opinion is fixed or unalterable ; but I dare not avow that the acceptance is *illegal*, as at present advised. I am very sensible how dangerously my judgment is hazarded, when it varies from your Lordship's ; but, in matters of law, I must always think for myself. The practice of that profession has taught me to be slow in forming an opinion. I must be clear and convinced before I declare it. I am, besides, a little apprehensive that the judges will decline the question, as being too high for their decision.

I hope your Lordship will excuse this freedom, and believe me, notwithstanding, to be, with the highest regard, and the sincerest attachment,

Your Lordship's most obedient, faithful servant,

CAMDEN.

utmost importance, that the doors of the House of Lords should be opened on the 5th : — 1. "We hear that the ministry intend to move for opening the doors of both Houses of Parliament on Tuesday next, in the usual manner, being desirous that the nation should be exactly informed of their whole conduct in the business of Falkland Island." 2. "The nation expects, that on Tuesday next at least, both Houses will be open as usual, otherwise there will be too much reason to suspect, that the proceedings of the ministry have been such as will not bear a public discussion." 3. "We hear that the ministry intend to move, that no gentleman may be refused admittance into either House on Tuesday next. Lord North in particular thinks it touches his character, to have no part of his conduct concealed from the nation." 4. "The resolution of the ministry to move for opening both Houses on Tuesday next does them great honour. If they were to do otherwise, it would raise and justify suspicions very disadvantageous to their own reputation, and to the King's honour." — Vol. i. p. 217.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ.

Hayes, Wednesday morning.
[February 20, 1771.]

DEAR SIR,

THE enclosed motion, intended to be made in the House of Commons, was sent to me yesterday by the Duke of Richmond. It is, I understand, to be followed by more questions of the same tendency, in order to disgrace, in the minds of the people, the late infamous transaction, by repeated attacks. Though the order of time seems to be inverted, by bringing collateral motions after the main question, instead of before, as I wished and recommended, nevertheless, as zeal is a good thing, however somewhat out of season, I would not damp it, and have met the Duke of Richmond's wish to stir the same matter in the House of Lords, in case his Grace, upon farther consideration, judges proper.

As Friday next may probably be *our* day, perhaps Lord Shelburne may not be within reach of timely information ; besides, that under the degree of uncertainty, as to the day, as well as considering the slender importance and operation of an exhausted matter, it seems almost a pity to break in upon a plan of exercise, necessary to his Lordship's more speedy and perfect recovery ; at the same time, it might give him some pain not to be informed, and thereby have no option left. In this kind of dilemma, I take the liberty to commit the decision to you, and

beg you will do therein as you judge best upon the whole.

I will only add, that there appears to me an affectation of activity and zeal, in this slaying the slain; whether to compensate for inaction in more essentials, or from suspicion that others might hang back, I do not conjecture. At all events, I thought it best to go with them, in a thing of small effect, but which can do no hurt; perhaps, too, they do this merely to keep meetings in breath, and that, with all Dowdeswell's powers of generation in questions, nothing can be produced, but *ridiculus mus*.

I have the honour to be, with distinguished regard, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant,

CHATHAM.

LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Manchester Buildings, five o'clock.

[February 20, 1771.]

MY LORD,

I AM this moment honoured with your Lordship's letter, with the motion enclosed. Mr. Dowdeswell communicated it to me yesterday, and wished to bring it on (under the auspices of Mr. Pownall) in a day or two, if possible; as he did not think it right to let a week pass without business of im-

portance. It is, however, to make its appearance on Tuesday. I took the liberty of recommending some steps of this sort to Mr. Dowdeswell, many days before the main question came under consideration, and even immediately after the papers were read; but I was not fortunate enough to meet with his approbation. Nothing as yet has transpired from that quarter, concerning their favourite bill.⁽¹⁾

The scheme which I had the honour of mentioning to your Lordship on Monday, will not, I believe, take place; though I cannot flatter myself that the arguments which I used produced a full conviction in their minds, of the dangerous absurdity of such a measure. They still think the ground good; that it will embarrass the ministry by producing new questions; that the voice of the city will be in their favour; that the Lord Mayor and Mr. Trecothick must and will join them; and that the number and weight of the victims may break the altar under them. They likewise say, with great confidence, that if they do not do this business, Mr. Wilkes will, and so the question come on at any rate; which they imagine will embarrass the Opposition much.

The printers⁽²⁾ are ordered to attend to-morrow.

(1) For explaining the powers of Juries in prosecutions for Libels.

(2) The following succinct account of the origin of the dispute which took place at this time between the House of Commons and the city of London is taken from a note to Mr. Woodfall's edition of the Letters of Junius: — "The printers of newspapers,

I shall still persist in advising our friends not to take the part they proposed. I flatter myself, indeed, that they will not. I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration and respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

and most obedient servant,

ISAAC BARRÉ.

having long intended it, now resolutely determined to report the debates of both Houses. On the 8th of February, Colonel Onslow made a motion against them, as being guilty of a violation of the privileges of parliament; and the printers were summoned to attend: Wheble and Miller, however, refused to obey the order; and the minister thought proper to issue a proclamation in his Majesty's name, and insert it in the Gazette, offering a reward of fifty pounds for apprehending John Wheble, printer of the Middlesex Journal, and John Miller, printer of the London Evening Post, for daring to publish certain speeches delivered in parliament. In consequence of this proclamation, they were both apprehended; Wheble by a brother-printer of the name of Carpenter, who owed him a grudge, and William Whittam, a messenger of the House of Commons. The former was carried before Mr. Wilkes, at that time just liberated from the King's Bench, and, as alderman for Farringdon, sitting magistrate at Guildhall; who, denying the legal authority of a mere proclamation, discharged Wheble, and took a recognizance of him to prosecute Carpenter for an assault and illegal imprisonment. Miller upon his arrest sent for a constable, to whom he gave charge of the messenger who arrested him, and immediately carried him to the Mansion House, where the Lord Mayor, Mr. Alderman Wilkes, and Mr. Alderman Oliver jointly heard the cause, discharged Miller, and signed a warrant of commitment of the messenger to the Compter for the assault and false imprisonment; from which, however, he was released upon finding bail. All was confusion and uproar. The House of Commons supported the legality of the proclamation; issued an order to prohibit every kind of prosecution or suit from being commenced or carried on for or on account of the assault and imprisonment of the printers; ordered the clerk to attend who had entered

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.Whitehall, Wednesday night,
February 20, 1771.

MY LORD,

I HAVE made it my business to-day to see as many lords of our friends as I possibly could, and have consulted with them upon your Lordship's inclination, that the motion I had the honour of sending to you might be made on Friday next in the House of Lords. I find the general opinion is, that it would be better to postpone any motion in our House till the week after next. The frost, and the great question of the convention, kept many lords in town for a great while; but seven or eight at the least have taken the opportunity of the thaw for a fortnight's holydays, and are gone into the country to get the little remainder of fox-hunting which the season allows of, and I find several more are very desirous of going. By this means, we should be reduced to very small numbers; and it is feared that the world will not consider the diminution to arise from lords being out of town, but from a falling off of friends.

For these reasons, many lords think it will be best to allow a respite till the week after next,

the proceedings in the Mansion House minute book; erased the entire record; and summoned the different aldermen who had officiated to appear at the bar of the House to answer for their conduct." — Vol. iii. p. 345.

and then we may expect a good attendance ; especially as about that time the Nullum Tempus bill ⁽¹⁾ will come up to us, if not thrown out in the House of Commons, where the ministry are making a second attack to-day, and are straining every nerve. This with other business will then fill the town ; but, nevertheless, if your Lordship thinks it best, or desires, that the motion should come on upon Friday, I shall defer my journey till Saturday, and will get as good an attendance as I can. I confess, however, that I am strongly inclined to deferring all business till the week after next, as I must be all next week in the country.

I see great weight in your Lordship's remarks on the subject of verbal negotiations ; but will defer entering upon this and the other matters in your Lordship's letter till I have the honour to see you. I will only say a few words upon the Jury bill. Lord Camden is determined not to agitate any question upon this subject, and Mr. Dowdeswell will move the bill in the course of next week ; when I trust that the friends of the constitution, though temperate, will be found zealous and firm in assert-

(1) Sir William Meredith's Bill, "for repealing a clause in the Nullum Tempus act, which protects such rights, titles, or claims, under any grants, or letters patent, from the Crown, as are prosecuted with effect within a certain limited time." The motion for committing the bill was this day carried by one hundred and fifty-five against one hundred and forty ; but, on the 27th, upon the question, that the Speaker should leave the chair, it was, after a long debate, negatived by one hundred and sixty-four against one hundred and fifty-four.

ing the essential rights of jurors, and in settling those doubts which the opinion of seven Judges of the King's Bench, countenanced by that of perhaps all the Judges now living, has created in the minds of many well-meaning people. This great object is the only aim of the bill; and, therefore, we are unwilling to admit of any words that do not go directly to this point, and that may involve us in questions upon what is past, and which are not necessary to our purpose. We wish to leave the past just where it is, and shall be well satisfied if this bill can be carried through, and thereby security obtained on this great point for the future. Your Lordship and the friends of this bill all mean alike the support of this material part of the constitution; we differ only in the means, and I think not very widely. I shall therefore ever lament, if your Lordship should think it necessary to go so far as to oppose those honest endeavours, for which we are pledged to the public, and which, after repeated and mature deliberation, we think ourselves bound to pursue.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,
my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,
RICHMOND, ETC.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ.

Hayes, Thursday morning,
February 21, 1771.

LORD CHATHAM presents his compliments to Colonel Barré. He has just heard from the Duke of Richmond, that no business is intended in the House of Lords till after next week, many lords being out of town. Mr. Dowdeswell peremptorily will move his bill concerning Juries in the course of next week; when the friends of the constitution will, it is hoped, strenuously resist this compound of connection, tyranny, and absurdity — not to say collusion.

LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Manchester Buildings, Thursday, half-past three.
[February 21, 1771.]

MY LORD,

I RETURN your Lordship many thanks for your very obliging letter and note. Mr. Dowdeswell's motion is to be offered to the House by Mr. Pownall, on Tuesday next ⁽¹⁾, and is to be followed

(1) On the 5th of March, Governor Pownall moved the following resolution — “That in the late negotiation with the court of Spain concerning Falkland's Island, his Majesty's ministers having neglected to demand an explanation of the oath of office taken by the Spanish governors in America, their general orders, and the established laws of America, under

by others of the same complexion : I took the liberty of recommending something of this sort the very day on which the papers were read ; but my arguments not being stamped with the name of Rockingham were disapproved of. If to-morrow had been fixed upon for the debate in the House of Lords, I should certainly have taken the best method in my power to inform Lord Shelburne of it, and I am pretty confident that he would have interpreted this communication from your Lordship as tantamount to a wish for his attendance.

I enclose for your Lordship's perusal the India recruiting bill⁽¹⁾, with the blanks filled up in the manner the favourers of it propose. It has made some noise, and is likely to be debated with much warmth. Sir Gilbert Elliot appears foremost in this business. I enclose also a copy of Mr. Dowdeswell's bill, which he put into my hands yesterday. He proposed a meeting of friends at his house, or Sir George Savile's, on Saturday. I told him, that it was impossible for me to make part of

which these governors pretend to act, and under which the court of Spain doth pretend to justify them in commencing hostilities ; his Majesty's rights and possessions in America remain thereby exposed and liable to be disturbed by the said governors, under the pretence of such oath of office, their general orders, and the established laws of America." The motion was negatived by 130 against 43. Governor Pownall afterwards published his speech upon this occasion.

(¹) It was entitled " A Bill for the more effectually raising a military force, for the protection of the settlements and possessions of the East India Company," &c.

a company which was to discuss a measure which I not only disliked, but thought myself bound to oppose: he seemed a little surprised, and said that it was not an enacting bill, and that, probably, after some conversation upon the subject, we should be all of the same opinion.

The measure proposed by some of our friends in the city, which I had the honour of mentioning to your Lordship at Hayes, is, as I understand, positively to take place. I used every argument in my power to dissuade them, and was strongly supported by Mr. Dunning and Mr. Glynn; but to no purpose. I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration and respect,

Your Lordship's most faithful

and most obedient servant,

ISAAC BARRÉ.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

February 21, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

MR. DOWDESWELL yesterday gave notice in the House, that on this day se'nnight he should move for leave to bring in his bill about Juries. It was before the order of the day; and not expecting this, I was not got down, nor do I hear that any thing was said. He has had no consultation yet; and knowing Lord George Germain advised dropping it, as we could not agree, I was in hopes it was over.

The ministry opposed violently the committing Sir William Meredith's bill ⁽¹⁾ last night, and bargained with Lord Carlisle to desert and carry off his friends, who had been with us in a former division for bringing the bill in ; nevertheless, we beat them one hundred and fifty-five to one hundred and forty. Mr. Dunning outdid himself.

I wish to know your Lordship's sentiments on the East India recruiting bill. The Spanish ambassador certainly leaves this court. No ratification is come ; but the ministers seem sure of it, though the return of M. Choiseul to power is generally expected. Believe me, most respectfully and affectionately, my dear Lord,

Yours,

J. CALCRAFT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, Thursday,
February 21, 1771.

MY DEAR SIR,

DOWDESWELL'S inflexibility, on a point manifestly absurd, is a melancholy proof of the spirit of *connection*. I trust this compound of tyranny and folly will meet with the reception from the public which such a task-master deserves. However, I will keep down rising sensations, so justly

(1) For repealing a clause in the Nullum Tempus act.

founded, and rather give way to laughter than animosity, during this reign of dulness in Opposition; the constitution, however, I will not sacrifice, even to union. I have expressed my determination to resist this dangerous bill, and promote a declaratory one, to the Duke of Richmond, by letter this morning.

I rejoice in the second victory, obtained in defiance of treachery. As to the East India Company's bill for recruiting, I disapprove it absolutely.⁽¹⁾ I have seen regalities taken away by act of parliament; and shall not concur in an act to attribute sovereign power in England to Leadenhall Street. You do me much honour, my dear Sir, in wishing so kindly to learn my sentiments on this matter. I think the attempt daring, and the power preposterous: out of all line of the constitution.

I am just got off my horse, after riding about two hours in sunshine.

I am,

my dear Sir,

entirely yours,

CHATHAM.

(1) This bill proceeded as far as the third reading; when, on a division, the numbers were, forty-five for the measure and forty-five against it. Upon which, the Speaker gave his casting vote in its favour; but several members having afterwards come in, on the question, that the bill do pass, the House divided, yeas fifty, noes fifty-one. It was consequently lost.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ.

Hayes, February 25, 1771.

LORD CHATHAM returns many compliments and thanks to Colonel Barré, for the very obliging communication of the enclosed. The no-result is worthy of the object of deliberation — “whether the sun is light, or Dowdeswell dark and dull.” It seems natural that whoever could once think that *enacting* is *declaring* should never be capable of thinking otherwise. Perhaps, too, to acquit his intellects, he is only standing up, like the King’s Bench, for the jurisdiction of *his court*. The jurors will, it is not doubted, be firm, and Lord Chief Justice Dowdeswell laughed at.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Bruce Castle, near Tottenham,
Monday, February 25, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM anxious to hear that your Lordship has not suffered by the honour you did me on Saturday. Mr. Townshend has, with infinite good sense, and regard to his friends, agreed to give up the proceeding in the city, and on this as well as future occasions to be guided by Mr. Dunning. He will speak to Mr. Oliver to the same effect.

As I had not the good fortune to be bred, like your Lordship, to fox-hunting, I am going to-morrow to Portsmouth, and shall return here on Saturday. I shall be ready afterwards to attend you at Hayes any morning it is convenient to your Lordship to fix, now or upon my return, as well as upon any points you think proper in the House of Lords. That of Juries, I own, is next my heart. I never heard a reflecting man doubt of the extension of the county representation being the greatest restorative possible of the constitution; of which every body but Lord Lyttelton laments the decay. I beg your Lordship will be assured, that no one can feel your friendship and attention more than

Your Lordship's obliged and
faithful humble servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Hayes, Monday,
February 25, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE honour of your kind letter is truly welcome, as it brings me at the same time a flattering mark of your attention, and the best ground to hope your Lordship is well, by sending me so favourable an account of your weight with our worthy, warm

friend, your landlord, in a matter of such decisive importance to the cause we support. I cannot enough applaud his manly and superior sense, in admitting the over-ruling force of reason against the bias of inclination, and the impulses of a spirit jealous of seeming too inactive. Certain he need not be afraid of under-doing with Mr. Dunning on the moderating side. Indeed, things would run into extravagance and absurdity, if zeal will not listen to knowledge. But no more of this, since it is over.

I rejoice that your Lordship is going to so interesting a scene as Portsmouth ; where you may see, with impartial eyes, Augustus Hervey's fleet⁽¹⁾ : his *Bury* fleet, or his *House of Commons'* fleet, a complement of sailors, or of worms. I shall wait your Lordship's return, before I take the liberty to propose a time for the honour and pleasure of our meeting. The issue of the meeting at Sir George Savile's seems to speak Mr. Dowdeswell's obstinacy. I have the honour to be, with truest respect and affection, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful friend,

and humble servant,

CHATHAM.

(1) The honourable Augustus Hervey had recently been appointed one of the commissioners of the Admiralty, and re-elected for the borough of St. Edmund's Bury.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Pall Mall, Saturday morning.

[March 2, 1771.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I HOPE this will find you returned from your excursion to Portsmouth, better in the circumstance of health, however little satisfied with the formidable state of our naval greatness. I am returning to Hayes, somewhat reminded of gout in one foot; but, I trust, only a passing sensation, and a little present from the month of March, so unfavourable to the gouty tribe.

I have seen Lord Rockingham, who has entered largely, in his candid and temperate manner, into the reasons for pursuing Mr. Dowdeswell's bill. Your humble servant remained (as your Lordship foresees) perfectly unconvinced, and next week, I believe Thursday, it will come on. I fear much the consequence, and false comments, if our friends of the long robe should take the plan of saying nothing the first day. A silent disapprobation of a bill simply *enacting*, will not be distinguishable from the disapprobation of ministry to any assertion of the jurors' right. The *wrong* bill, it seems to me, should be admitted to be brought in, in order to make it *right*; that is, *declaratory*, in the committee.

If your Lordship has the goodness to think of turning your horses' heads towards Hayes, you will

make me very really happy. I do not propose being in town again, till the middle or end of next week. I am ever, with the truest respect and affection, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most faithful friend,

And most obedient,

humble servant,

CHATHAM.

LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Friday, March 8, 1771.

MY LORD,

MR. DOWDESWELL made his motion yesterday, and opened and read his proposed bill. He was seconded by Sir George Savile. Mr. James Grenville⁽¹⁾ began the opposition, and was against any bill whatsoever. This was, I believe, his first attempt to speak in the House. His manner had all the modesty of his character; his language had not the smallest appearance of being studied; it was spirited and nervous. He was universally applauded. After Mr. Grenville had done, there was a great struggle who should be heard first: — Mr. Calcraft for the motion, but against the enact-

(1) Eldest son of the right honourable James Grenville, at this time member for the town of Buckingham. In 1782, he was appointed a lord of the treasury, and afterwards a lord of trade and plantations. In 1797, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Glastonbury, and died in 1825.

ing bill ; Mr. Thomas Townshend pretty much the same ; Paul Fielde, a friend of the Rockinghams ; Alexander Popham, Cornwall, Barré, and Dunning held nearly the same language : the last was very explicit and strong in giving his opinion of the power of juries. Sir William Meredith and Mr. Phipps were against the motion. The latter spoke with great violence of Lord Mansfield's conduct, and mentioned the necessity of impeachment ; Mr. Graves treated him also with great severity, though his manner was different. " When the noble Lord," he said, " is right, there is no man in the kingdom happier in explaining himself, or is more successful in making himself understood : in this transaction, he knows he is wrong, and it is therefore he has contrived to be totally unintelligible." Mr. Aubrey was also against the enacting bill. Mr. Dowdeswell and Sir George Savile replied ; the former particularly obstinate for his *word*. At the close of the debate, they were supported by Lord John Cavendish and Mr. Burke ; who, by the by, at the close of his speech ⁽¹⁾

(1) The following close of Mr. Burke's speech on this occasion, found among his papers after his decease, will be read with interest : — " I am not of the opinion of those gentlemen who are against disturbing the public repose ; I like a clamour whenever there is an abuse. The fire-bell at midnight disturbs your sleep ; but it keeps you from being burned in your bed. The hue and cry alarms the county ; but it preserves all the property of the province. All these clamours aim at *redress*. But a clamour made merely for the purpose of rendering the people discontented with their situation, without an endeavour to give them a practical remedy, is indeed one of the worst

inadvertently let out, that the dispute was *merely* about a word.

Your Lordship will, perhaps, be surprised at finding yourself at the bottom of a second page, without hearing a word of the ministry. There was a dead silence in their camp, and they contented themselves with being spectators of the confusion in ours. Three of their stragglers disobeyed orders, Mr. Mackworth, Powlet, and the candid Conway, who was clear for the right of juries, thought that what had passed was worthy of parliamentary inquiry, but dreaded that, if such inquiry was to take place in these times, parliament would run a risk of disgracing itself. Serjeant Glynn was gone on the circuit. Our city friends were not in the House, and I suppose were employed in preparing matters for their cause to-day at the bar of the House.

acts of sedition. I have read and heard much upon the conduct of our courts in the business of libels. I was extremely willing to enter into, and very free to act, as facts should turn out upon that inquiry, aiming constantly at remedy as the end of all clamour, all debate, all writing, and all inquiry; for which reason I did embrace, and do now with joy, this method of giving quiet to the courts, jurisdiction to juries, liberty to the press, and satisfaction to the people. I thank my friends for what they have done; I hope the public will one day reap the benefit of their pious and judicious endeavours. They have now sown the seed; I hope they will live to see the flourishing harvest. Their bill is sown in weakness; it will, I trust, be reaped in power; and then, however, we shall have reason to apply to them, what my Lord Coke says was an aphorism continually in the mouth of a great sage of the law, 'Blessed be not the complaining tongue, but blessed be the amending hand!'

You see, my Lord, what a glorious day yesterday was for the Opposition, and particularly for its leaders! Nothing under the humour of a Swift or a Rabelais can describe it to you. I went down to the House very angry with them, but in less than an hour they forced me to pity them. Poor things! They told me that they never would do the like again. The division was 218 to 72.⁽¹⁾

(¹) The following brief summary of this debate, which is the only one that has been preserved, appeared, a few days after, in the Public Advertiser. It was generally attributed to Junius, and bears internal evidence of being drawn up by that writer:—

“Mr. Dowdeswell observed, that as *doubts* had arisen in the people’s minds respecting the power of juries in the cases of libels, to remove those doubts, he should propose an *enacting* bill, to give to juries a power to try the whole matter in issue; that was to determine whether the paper or book charged with being a libel be so or not; but that if gentlemen like a declaratory bill better, he had left the matter open. He paid some compliments to Lord Mansfield, and read his enacting bill. Mr. Burke spoke in support of the enacting bill, and in praise of Lord Mansfield.* He said, if the noble judge had erred, he had erred with great law authorities, in great and respectable company.—Mr. James Grenville, jun., spoke for a declaratory bill; as did Mr. Calcraft, Mr. Aubrey, and Colonel Barré, Sir George Savile, Mr. T. Townshend, Mr. R. H. Coxe, and Mr. Dunning. These last gentlemen severally urged the necessity of settling this matter beyond doubt or controversy, because it did appear from a late paper given by Lord Mansfield to

* Mr. Burke, as appears by a manuscript, in his own hand-writing, found after his death, addressed a letter to the editor of the Public Advertiser, in contradiction of this assertion. “It is not true,” he says, “that Mr. Burke spoke in praise of Lord Mansfield. If he had found any thing in Lord Mansfield praiseworthy, I fancy he is not disposed to make an apology to any body for doing justice. Your correspondent’s reason for asserting it is visible enough; and it is altogether in the strain of other misrepresentations. That gentlemen spoke decently of the judges, and he did no more; most of the gentlemen who debated on both sides held the same language; and nobody will think their zeal the less warm, or the less effectual, because it is not attended with scurrility and violence.”

The city of London has met in their Embankment business with even uncommon injustice. The

the House of Lords, that it was the opinion of all the judges of the King's Bench, that the jury should determine only the *fact*, and the *law* should be left to the judge; that this was not only the opinion of the judges, but in a former debate all the ministerial lawyers and leaders had supported the same; that the doctrine was dangerous in the highest degree, as encroaching on the palladium of English liberty, the trial by jury, as leaving the essence of the cause to the determination of interested men, the judges; that this doctrine, now adopted by the judges, was not of older date than the reign of Queen Anne. In Queen Elizabeth's reign there was a remarkable case, which showed the contrary to be the opinion then (an indictment of a grand jury at Lincoln, which found a true bill as to the *fact*, but no true bill as to the *malice*, &c. This the judges determined to be no true bill; by which they determined, that the jury were judges of the law, as well as the fact); that in the famous case of the bishops, in the reign of James the Second, the judges, though made for the purpose, unanimously concurred in directing the jury to judge of the *whole* of the information, as well the *law* as the *fact*; that whenever the jury had thought proper to dispute the affair with the judges, the jury had always got the better; and that a law establishing this doctrine would put an end to this dispute. — The ministry did not say one single word in the dispute; but the debate was taken up by the gentlemen of the minority. Captain Phipps spoke very well and with great spirit; Sir William Meredith spoke extremely well; Mr. James Grenville inimitably well for his first essay; Mr. Popham and others. There was not one of them who did not establish the doctrine, that juries are judges of *law* as well as *fact*, but disapproved of the present motion, for various reasons: — That the doctrine being established on the foundation of the common law did not require the assistance of the statute law to defend it; that if a bill of this nature was brought into the House, and afterwards rejected, it might have very bad effects on the minds of the people, as it might be supposed that the doctrine was *doubtful*; then an *enacting* law would make it appear that this was a *novel* doctrine, which few in the House could concur in; and that if made *declaratory* only, the judges who had acted on principles contrary to such declaration would be liable to condign punishment; which the friends of the motion did not seem to wish. For these reasons the numbers were 218 for adjourning, 72 against it.

Of the majority who voted against Mr. Dowdeswell's proposition was Mr. Fox; whose *declaratory* bill, brought forward in 1791, and passed in 1792, has fully established the right of

East India bill is likely to pass, though it meets with a much greater opposition than that given to the Embankment. Both bills have, as I conceive, the same protectress.⁽¹⁾ The town is barren of news, and the wise measure of yesterday has, I believe, put an end to parliamentary attendance. Your Lordship, I hope, will do me the honour to believe, that I am, with the highest consideration and respect, my Lord,

Your most faithful and
most obliged servant,
ISAAC BARRÉ.

juries, in criminal prosecutions for libel, to give "a general verdict of guilty or not guilty, upon the whole matter put in issue upon the indictment or information." In its progress through the House of Commons, Mr. Fox was most ably supported by Mr. Erskine. In the House of Lords it was opposed by Lords Thurlow, Kenyon, and Bathurst, and strenuously supported by the Earl of Shelburne, then Marquis of Lansdowne, who pronounced Mr. Erskine a heaven-born advocate, for the hand he had in bringing in a bill which did Mr. Fox immortal honour; and also by the venerable Lord Camden, who closed his parliamentary career in defence of this measure. "So clear," he said, "was the point in his mind, that the juries were the whole and sole controllers of all the case of libel, that if all the bench of the courts of law, all the bar, and the unanimous voice of parliament, should declare it to be otherwise, he would not change his opinion. If the opposite doctrine were to obtain, trial by jury would be a nominal trial, a mere form; for, in fact, the judge, and not the jury, would try the man. He would contend for the truth of this argument to the latest hour of his life, *manibus pedibusque*."

(¹) The Princess Dowager of Wales. See *post*, pp. 129, 134.

LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Manchester Buildings,
Sunday, March 17, 1771.

MY LORD,

THE business in the House of Commons during the last week was so little interesting to the public, and so disgraceful to parliament, that I could not think myself justifiable in attempting to intrude upon the quiet so necessary for the re-establishment of your Lordship's health.

I am now urged to take up the pen, to acquaint your Lordship, that the late transactions in the city of London — the apprehending of Wheble the printer ⁽¹⁾, in consequence of the proclamation, his discharge, and the commitment of the person who apprehended him, by Mr. Wilkes — the appre-

(1) Carpenter, a brother printer, who had apprehended Wheble, in consequence of the proclamation, had been ordered by Mr. Wilkes to enter into a recognizance for his appearance for an assault. Mr. Dowdeswell, on the 20th, alluded, in the House of Commons, to the hardship of this man's case, to which Mr. Wedderburne made the following pleasant reply: — "As to Mr. Twine Carpenter, for whom the honourable gentleman has thought fit to become an advocate, I shall certainly oppose the giving him any support. He is neither more nor less than a familiar of Wheble's, called his devil: by a compact between this devil and Wheble, the devil arrests him: this arrest the city magistrates determined to be illegal, and therefore they bound the devil over to answer for what he had done; now, as it manifestly appears, that the devil and the printer are in compact, I think the wisest thing we can do is to leave the devil to the printer, and the printer to the devil: whether the printer beats devil, or devil beats printer, is of no conse-

hending of Thompson, another printer, under the same proclamation, his discharge by Mr. Oliver, without committing the person who seized him — and the carrying the messenger of the House of Commons before the Lord Mayor, Mr. Oliver, and Mr. Wilkes, for seizing the person of Miller the printer, who was discharged, and the messenger obliged to give bail to prevent his being sent to the Compter — are all pretty correctly stated in the newspapers.

Mr. Townshend and Mr. Sawbridge have taken no sort of part in these proceedings, and differ in opinion from those who have. They and their friends are open to any line in parliament, which may be suggested to them as wise and prudent, in the present conjuncture. There is a report, that administration intend to let Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Oliver pass unnoticed, and that all their resentment is to be pointed against the Lord Mayor.

It will give me great pleasure to hear, that the moderate weather we have had lately has favoured your Lordship with some respite from pain. The errors of individuals are likely, perhaps, to produce

quence ; there may, possibly, be the devil to do, and certainly there will be the devil to pay ; but that is nothing to us : if the devil has been paid already, and received the reward offered by the proclamation, he has fairly outwitted the noble lord near me : whether he has or has not I do not know ; but I hope that the devil will find no friends in this House ; and that however busy he may have been in the city, and however busy the city may have been with him, we shall have nothing to do with him, nor give him an opportunity of having any thing to do with us."

more capital ones in an unpopular and revengeful ministry. In that case, my Lord, the public will naturally look up to your Lordship's zeal and abilities for support. With the warmest wishes for your Lordship's recovery, I have the honour to be, with the truest respect and consideration, my Lord,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ISAAC BARRÉ.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ.

Hayes, March 17, 1771.

DEAR SIR,

THE honour of your very obliging letter finds me still labouring with an oppressive cold, though somewhat better upon my legs. The business of the printers is become interesting, and must, I fear, in consequence, not end well for the cause of liberty. I am not enough informed to have a clear opinion upon the proclamation, nor does the event much interest; but the commitment of the messenger of the House, and obliging him to bail, are things totally irreconcilable, in my view, with the clearest notions of the democratical power of this mixed government, and, on the idea of any reality in the parliamentary constitution, subversive of the people's authority; applicable, in its nature and intention, against the arbitrary power of the crown.

I feel all the force of your observation, with regard to the errors of individuals, and think it not im-

probable, that excess on the part of ministry may mend the ground, for those, at present, much in the wrong. I am not a little happy that Mr. Townshend and Mr. Sawbridge are upon clear ground, and would fain hope that they may venture to continue in the right, without losing all their weight with the livery. I am, however, aware that their situation is delicate, and demands a line somewhat nice.

You do me, dear Sir, too much honour, in the weight you give to my suggestions in such a crisis. I am able to say little more than a vague maxim, in cases not quite ascertained; which is, *qu'il faut faire la guerre à l'œil*; always forbearing to approve what mistaken zeal has done; at the same time, not giving into excess or rigour in punishing. That the proceeding of Lord Mayor is censurable, I have no doubt; and as far as resolutions asserting the clear right of either House of Parliament, I could not, in conscience, oppose them, in case the matter should come before the House of Lords; but I am of opinion, that to go farther than *bruta fulmina parlamentaria*, noise without effect, would be neither wise nor becoming.

I write with an aching head, where my cold lies, and may not have expressed as I wish my thoughts to one from whom I would conceal none. Accept a thousand acknowledgments for your kind attention to an invalid, and believe me, with truest esteem and consideration, dear Sir,

Your most faithful, humble servant,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRE.

Hayes, Thursday morning,
March 21, 1771.

DEAR SIR,

I USE a pen with some difficulty, being in bed and blistered ; but I find it impossible not to give a word of expression to what I feel, on the great honour done me in the House of Commons, from one whose testimony is so highly honourable, and whose opinion and friendship I shall always prize amongst my best possessions. I have the pleasure to hear, what I always expect of you in critical situations ; which is, that you steered the debate clear of all rocks, and never slackened the rapidity of your way, or gave the enemy any respite. The storm thickens admirably well, and these wretches called ministers will be sick enough of their folly (not forgetting iniquity), before the whole business is over. If I mistake not, it will prove very pregnant, and one distress generate another ; for they have brought themselves and their Master where ordinary inability never arrives, and nothing but first rate geniuses in incapacity can reach ; I mean, a situation, wherein there is nothing they can do, which is not a fault. They have wantonly called up a conflict of high and sacred jurisdiction : neither can relinquish their right ; one may err (and I continue to be clear that Lord Mayor errs), but his error, taking it to be sincere and conscientious, cannot be criminal or punishable : it is honest,

spirited, and respectable, though justly to be opposed by a counter claim of better right. If expulsion be attempted, it is the consummation of tyranny. As for the proclamation, I find it proves to be worthy of the reign of proclamations, James the First. To defend and justify what is right, and to cover and save harmless well-intended and honest error, is a task equally pleasing and honourable. Happy for the cause of liberty, that so large a share of the work is in your hands! Allow me to end with my paper, and assure you, my dear Sir, how faithfully I am

Yours,

CHATHAM.

LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Thursday night, March 21, 1771.

MY LORD,

I WANT words to describe my deep concern for your Lordship's severe indisposition, as well as to express my sincere thanks for your most obliging letter. My conduct in Parliament has been stated to your Lordship in a more favourable light than, in my own *fair* judgment, it possibly could deserve. To justify myself, to stigmatize a wicked court, and to give the tribute due to the greatest character in the kingdom, were circumstances so connected together in the debate alluded to, that it was impossible to separate them.

I fear your Lordship has been misinformed in another particular. There is some reason to believe, that administration will rather prefer lenient measures, and I suspect, from many circumstances, that the Rigby policy will prevail at last. 'Tis true, the privileges of the House may suffer, but those, as well as the rights of the nation, must be given up to the love of peace ; and Mr. Dyson must employ his casuistry to reconcile such a proceeding to the House. The proclamation has been yet but little touched upon. They wished to avoid meddling with Wilkes and Oliver ; but part of the Opposition forced them upon 'em.

Your Lordship may have heard that Mr. Sawbridge has declared, that he would have done the same thing, had he happened to have been called upon as a magistrate. Mr. Townshend (ill in his bed) has desired his old colleague to say the same thing for him. By the indisposition of the former, I confess myself unable to give your Lordship any account of the real temper of the city upon this important occasion. Mr. Oliver and the Lord Mayor have certainly conducted themselves hitherto with spirit and propriety.

The task your Lordship assigns to me in this business is far above my abilities. I am not mortified when I make this honest confession ; for there is no man now in the House of Commons equal to it. I never knew more than *one*.

I hear just now, that nothing material is to come on before the beginning of next week. I long

much to tell Lord Chatham (recovered from his illness), how much I feel myself honoured by the very favourable sentiments he entertains of me. With such a testimony in my favour, I envy not those who are called the King's friends. I am, with the most respectful consideration, my dear Lord,

Your most devoted and
most faithful servant,
ISAAC BARRÉ.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Ingress, Sunday, March 24, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

A WIDE difference of opinion, between Lord North and the lower Carlton-House tools is most visible. Sir Gilbert Elliot, in his warmth, scarce restrains an absolute avowal of his power. Lord North and his friends complain : at present, his pillow is full of thorns.

The French and Spanish ambassadors have called on Lord Rochford to name a day for settling the right, and evacuating Falkland's Island. His Lordship declined entering on the matter ; on which he was told, their recall would probably prove the consequence. There are, too, other foreign uneasinesses.

The ministers avow Wilkes too dangerous to

meddle with. He is to do what he pleases ; we are to submit. So his Majesty orders : he will have “ nothing more to do with that devil Wilkes.”⁽¹⁾ The treasury bench are sick of the other parts of this business ; reprimand only is now the language.

When I saw Lord Temple, two days since, he was the eagerest politician in London, and resolved to come out on this business. 'Tis most certain Lord Camden dined in company with Rigby on Wednesday ; probably at the Duke of Grafton's. He returned to the House afterwards, and loudly proclaimed his company.

The calamity at Bengal is by no means so great as was reported. Notwithstanding the famine and mortality which followed, the whole revenues of the Company were collected, the investments made, and nine ships freighted.⁽²⁾ Colonel Coote

(1) Mr. Wilkes received three successive summonses to attend the House, all of which he refused to obey. “I observe,” he said, in a letter to the Speaker, “that no notice is taken of me in your order as a member of the House, and that I am not required to attend in my place : both these circumstances ought to have been mentioned in my case, and I hold them absolutely indispensable. In the name of the frecholders of Middlesex, I again demand my seat, having the honour of being freely chosen, by a very great majority, one of the representatives for the said county.”

(2) On the authority of advices from Bengal, it was at this time reported, that two millions of souls had perished in India by famine and pestilence ; that the manufactories were all at a stand for want of workmen ; and that it would be impossible, for two or three years to come, for investments to be made to Europe.

will wish he had followed your Lordship's good advice; for he is disgusted, and on his return home.⁽¹⁾

The Lord Mayor is really very ill. Should he not attend, it seems resolved to proceed to-morrow against Oliver. I shall receive the utmost satisfaction in hearing a good account of your Lordship's health, and am, with most respectful compliments to Lady Chatham,

Your Lordship's ever obliged, faithful,
and affectionate friend and servant,

J. CALCRAFT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Sunday, March 24, 1771.

MY DEAR SIR,

I MUST essay my own hand, though I am but beginning to mend, to express my sincere thanks for your very kind attention to my health, and for

⁽¹⁾ Colonel Eyre Coote had, in the preceding year, been sent to Madras, as commander-in-chief of the Company's forces; but having had a dispute with the governor, he returned over-land to England, in the summer of this year, and was made a knight of the bath, and governor of Fort St. George. In 1780, being appointed a member of the supreme council, and commander-in-chief of the British forces at Bengal, he defeated, at Porto Novo, with ten thousand men, Hyder Aly, at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand. In 1783, he returned to Madras, to put himself at the head of the army in Madras, but died two days after his arrival. His body was conveyed to England, and a monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

the interesting information contained in your letter. The scene is unexampled, and England devoted to ruin : Bengal news calamitous, and General Coote's treatment at Madras incomprehensibly injurious. Lord North is justly visited with the insolence of a vile cabal, who have made him, in their hands, the scourge of his country, and now insult his shame and distress. Lord Camden's dinner grieves me, for his sake : consequence, I believe, it will have none ; but I am prepared not to be astonished at any thing. I rejoice that Lord Temple is roused, and hope he has a system : mine is fixed ; but nothing can be more so, than the unalterable confidence and affection with which I am ever, my dear Sir,

Most inseparably yours,

CHATHAM.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Tuesday morning, three o'clock,
March 26, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

I CANNOT go to my bed without giving your Lordship some account of last night's most extraordinary business. The Lord Mayor attended without counsel, adhered to his former defence, read the oaths of office, and city charter. Mr. Ellis moved a resolution to declare, that discharging Miller was a breach of privilege. Sir George

Savile moved the previous question ; which was debated till twelve o'clock, and then rejected, two hundred and seventy-two to ninety.

After this division, Sir George Savile, Dowdeswell, Lord John Cavendish, and others of that party, seceded. Your Lordship's friends supported Sir George Savile's motion, saying, they wished to hear no more of this dangerous controversy, were against punishment, &c. The main question then passed without a division. A second general resolution went also against the Lord Mayor. He was ordered to attend again to-morrow. His Lordship was gone home with leave, on account of his health, attended by a great crowd, who would draw his coach home. All the avenues to the House were filled with people ; many members insulted ; and the civil magistrates called to disperse them.

Late as it was, they proceeded against Alderman Oliver, who made his defence very short indeed ; was firm in the opinion of having acted right, according to his oath ; saw his fate fixed by the great majority, and rather defied the House ; which brought Lord North to prompt Ellis to move his commitment to the Tower — a length he meant not to go. Upon this, Barré made a most abusive and violent speech against the parliament and treasury bench, then seceded with Dunning, Glynn, Cornwall, Alderman Townshend, Sawbridge, and several more.

This measure seemed to me passionate. Mr.

James Grenville was of the same opinion ; so were Mr. Thomas Townshend and others. We had determined, therefore, to stay and divide against the commitment; but Sir John Griffin moving a middle measure ⁽¹⁾, by way of amendment, Mr. James Grenville and I came away, rather than be parties to either. Lord George Germain, Mr. Thomas Pitt, and Lord Clive, voted against us in the first division ; with us in one for adjournment, when the numbers were two hundred and fourteen to ninety-seven. In short, such a scene was never beheld. My endeavour was to keep as much as possible to your Lordship's line, consistent with those feelings for general credit, on events that arose in the course of the business.

I am sorry to add, that Opposition are in great want of a leader, and a general system. One set are so candid, another so violent, a third so dissatisfied, that the scene is dreadful. Lord North's retreat is in every body's mouth. Lord Gower is named for the treasury, with Mr. Jenkinson his chancellor of the exchequer.

The enclosed is put into my hands as authentic. I am ever, my dear Lord, most respectfully and

Affectionately yours,

JOHN CALCRAFT.

(1) That the words "reprimanded by the Speaker" should be inserted instead of "committed to the Tower of London."

[ENCLOSURE.]

[In the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis. (1)]

“ ON Friday, March 1st, Mr. Walpole arrived from Paris. On Monday, the 4th of March, the French and Spanish ambassadors went to Lord Rochford, and demanded that a day should be fixed for settling the question of prior right to Falkland Island. Lord Rochford refused to name any day. The Spanish messenger, who brought the ratification and Masserano’s instructions to make this demand, set out this evening for Madrid: he went through France, and left some despatches for the French King at Paris. On Monday, the 11th of March, the same ambassadors went again to Lord Rochford, and not only made the same demand as before, but added, that they were farther instructed to demand, that a day should be fixed for restoring Falkland Island to the crown of Spain, agreeably to promise. Lord Rochford peremptorily refused to enter into any negotiation on the subject.

“ On Tuesday, the 19th of March, an express arrived from Lord Harcourt, our ambassador at Paris, with an account that the King of France had written a letter to the King of Spain, wherein he assured the Catholic King, that he was ashamed of the conduct of the court of London; that he was ready and willing to co-operate with the court of Spain in whatever future measures should be judged

(1) See Vol. III. p. 444., and the fac-similes of autographs in the present volume.

expedient; that he put himself under the direction and wisdom of the Catholic king, and only begged that, in their future operations, that monarch would have an eye to the present situation of France. Next day Lord North and the two secretaries of state waited on the King, who was exceedingly shocked on receiving this account.

“The Princess of Wales now affects to disclaim all concern in the late convention, and says that she has several times advised his Majesty to change his ministers; that she has no concern in the present proceedings against the city, and that the odium of their conduct has been unjustly thrown upon her.”

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Tuesday, past two, March 26, 1771.

MY DEAR SIR,

YOUR most interesting letter of this morning is infinitely obliging, after your long fatigue. I expected a very disjointed scene, in a matter little weighed and little understood. The state of the business seems to me clearly this: the discharge of Miller, taken under the Speaker's warrant, I think contrary to the established jurisdiction of the House, with regard to printers of their proceedings and debates; but I hold also as fully, that in a conflict of jurisdiction, the Lord Mayor and city magistrates, acting under an oath of office and their charter, cannot be proceeded against crimin-

ally by the House, without the highest injustice and oppression. The House might well assert its claim of jurisdiction, as a counter right, without punishing their member for what he has done as magistrate. ⁽¹⁾

As to seceding, in the different periods of the business, it seems to me, that the question of commitment was the properest time ; but it is of small import, since the negative is equally given. Upon the whole, nothing is more distinct, in my view, than the House declaring their right by a resolution, and proceeding to punish magistrates who may err, but cannot be criminal, standing sincerely and conscientiously for that jurisdiction they are bound by oath to maintain. If the commitment of Lord Mayor is attempted, I hope the firmest and most determined stand will be made by all our friends.

Your intelligence is most important. As to the domestic arrangements of the Treasury, sure it cannot be, unless there is some strange foul play somewhere. A thousand cordial thanks for your kind solicitude for my health. I mend but slowly. Believe me ever, my dear Sir, most affectionately

Yours,

CHATHAM.

(1) "The Lord Mayor and Mr. Oliver," writes Junius on the 9th of April, "*as magistrates*, had nothing to regard but the obligation of their oaths, and the execution of their laws. If they were convinced that the Speaker's warrant was not a legal authority to the messenger, it necessarily followed that, when he was charged upon oath with a breach of the peace, they *must* hold him to bail: they had no option." — Vol. iii. p. 375.

LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Tuesday, March 26, 1771, 12 o'clock.

MY LORD,

THE business of yesterday was too interesting, as well as too singular, not to be communicated to your Lordship as soon as possible. The city members, in the beginning of the day, declined being heard by counsel at the bar, as their lawyers were to be under such restrictions as would make their appearance entirely useless; and besides, it was not possible for them to procure persons at this time of the year, when all the ablest men were upon their different circuits.

The first question was, that the discharge of Miller the printer, &c. was a breach of privilege; to this Sir George Savile moved the previous question, upon the ground of the whole proceedings being informal and unjust, making, at the same time, very pertinent and severe reflections upon the origin, growth, and probable consequences of this business. We lost this question, 272 to 90; and after it was over (before the main question was put), Sir George Savile, Mr. Dowdeswell, and some more of the Rockinghams quitted the House; but Mr. Dunning, Mr. Serjeant Glynn, who came from his circuit to attend this debate, and some others, agreed with me, that it was better to wait for the censure or punishment.

The next question, which was, that the committing the messenger, and then the obliging him to give

bail were breaches of privilege, passed without division. I should have told your Lordship, that Lord Mayor, by the consent of the House, was permitted, on account of his health, to return to the Mansion House at about ten o'clock, and in the middle of the first debate. He had made, at the first outset, a short and spirited enough defence; and before he quitted the House, he sent a message to the Speaker, informing him that he wished to be proceeded against, though absent, and that, should his punishment be a commitment to the Tower, he would certainly obey the order in as private and quiet a manner as possible.

Near one in the morning they moved, that Richard Oliver, Esq., having signed a warrant, &c., was guilty of a breach of privilege. I moved a question of adjournment, upon the impropriety of proceeding at so late an hour, and of calling upon one of their own members to make his defence, after above ten hours debate. After the division upon the adjournment, that question was put, carried, and followed by this, "That Richard Oliver, Esq. be, for the said offence, committed to the Tower." I spoke to this question about five minutes only, but I believe with great violence⁽¹⁾;

(1) The Colonel's speech upon this occasion was certainly *un peu fort*. "Listen," he said, "listen! for if you are not totally callous, if your consciences are not totally seared, I will speak daggers to your souls, and wake you to all the hells of guilty recollection. That I may not be a witness of this monstrous proceeding, I will leave the House; nor do I doubt but every independent man will follow me. These walls are

and, calling upon those whose spirit and honour ought not to suffer them to be witnesses of the shame of the House of Commons, I left the House to its own discretion, and was followed immediately by Mr. Dunning, Trecothick, Sir R. Bernard, Townshend, Sawbridge, Sir R. Clayton, and about seven or eight other members. As I walked down, several of the ministry called "to the bar!", but no man chose to put the question.

After I left the House, I hear Mr. James Grenville spoke very well against the punishment, and Sir John Griffin moved an amendment, which reduced it to a reprimand. This amendment was lost by about 170 to 38. Mr. Oliver rested upon his own conscience, and defied their menaces.⁽¹⁾ He asked leave to call at his own house, which was granted. The House of Commons adjourned at four o'clock in the morning to Wednesday (tomorrow), and this morning, at seven, Mr. Oliver was carried quietly to the Tower.

There was a numerous mob about the House,

baleful, they are deadly, while a prostitute majority holds the bolt of parliamentary omnipotence, and hurls its vengeance only upon the virtuous. To yourselves, therefore, I consign you. Enjoy your own pandemonium —

‘When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway,
The post of honour is a private station.’”

(1) "I glory," said the Alderman, "in the fact laid to my charge. I know that whatever punishment is intended for me nothing I can say will avert. As for myself, I am perfectly unconcerned; and as I expect little from the justice of the House, I defy its power."

and many of them of the better class. They affronted some of the court members, and indeed some others; but were soon dispersed by the magistrates of Westminster, who received the orders of the House upon the occasion.

Early in the day, Mr. Townshend (who was just taken out of a sick bed) spoke with great spirit, upon the wanton abuse of privilege in both Houses. He declared, that in a case similar to the present, he would certainly take the same line with the Lord Mayor and Oliver. He spoke of the general discontent of the people without doors; said that the cause of this discontent had been often glanced at, but never particularly mentioned; that it was idle to deceive ourselves any longer, it was right to speak out; and that, for his part, he thought that the Princess Dowager of Wales was the real cause of all the calamities which had befallen this country for these last unfortunate ten years, and that an inquiry should be made into her Royal Highness's conduct.⁽¹⁾

(1) This passage of Alderman Townshend's speech is thus given in the Parliamentary History: — "Many who support the present motion are more assiduous to please the wantonness of female caprice, than to answer the expectations of their constituents: instead of gaining the esteem of their country, they are only solicitous to gratify the ambitious views of one aspiring woman; who, to the dishonour of the British name, is well known to direct the operations of our despicable ministers. Does any gentleman wish to know what woman I allude to? if he does, I will tell him; it is to the Princess Dowager of Wales. I aver, that we have been governed ten years by a woman. It is not the sex I object to, but the government: were we well

It is very extraordinary, my Lord, that this language had no more apparent effect, either on the House or upon the ministry, than if it had been held concerning the mal-administration of the Duke of Saxe Gotha, or any even pettier prince of the house of Saxony. It was not taken notice of by any person whatever, except Lord North; who, about five hours after, assured the alderman that he was mistaken in the fact, for he (Lord North) had been in a large share of confidence for these last five years, and knew of no such influence. He did not even venture to pay the Princess the smallest compliment whatsoever.⁽¹⁾

Mr. Cornwall, who is now near me, reminds me, that the preliminary step of refusing to hear counsel to the single point on which Lord Mayor had rested his defence, and to which the House had permitted him to offer evidence, was so unjust in itself, so irreconcilable to all precedent, and the idea of not having the jurisdiction of the House questioned by counsel, that it contaminated the whole judicial proceeding, and afforded very fair ground to those who could not vote against the main question to decline giving any vote upon it.

ruled, the ruler would be an object of little signification. It is not the greatness of the criminal's rank which should prevent you from punishing the criminality."

(1) "When the Princess of Wales was named in the House of Commons, where was that zeal, which some people boast of, for their royal master? The mother of their sovereign was branded by name as the authoress of all our calamities, and the assertion passed without censure or contradiction." — *Junius*, vol. iii. p. 379.

Lord Shelburne desires me to give his compliments to your Lordship. He thinks, in the present situation of this business, that any personal attention from him to Mr. Oliver, such as visiting him in his confinement can scarcely be expected or would be proper; but should be glad to be guided by your Lordship's judgment in this and every other matter.

Sooner than wait one half hour longer, I preferred sending your Lordship this imperfect, inaccurate, and blotted scrawl. I hope it will meet your Lordship at least somewhat recovered from your severe indisposition. I have the honour to be, with the greatest consideration and respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

ISAAC BARRÉ.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ.

Tuesday, 3 o'clock, March 26, 1771.

MY DEAR SIR,

I AM extremely indebted to you for your obliging trouble, after a long fatigue yesterday. The scene is most interesting, and the day, as I expected, on a matter not sufficiently understood, somewhat disjointed. To me it seems, that the only clue through the labyrinth is, that the House becomes flagrantly unjust and tyrannical, the moment it proceeds criminally against magistrates standing for a jurisdiction they are bound to maintain, in a conflict of

respectable rights. Nothing appears to me more distinct, than declaring their right to jurisdiction, with regard to printers of their proceedings and debates, and punishing their member, and in him his constituents, for what he has done in discharge of his oath and conscience, as a magistrate.

With regard to leaving the House, I confess that, others having left it before, the period you took to leave it was the properest. At the same time, allow me to offer my opinion, that if the ministry proceed to punish Lord Mayor, the stand against such injustice and oppression cannot be made with too much firmness and vigour by the friends of liberty in the House.

The incident you mention, of Mr. Alderman Townshend's naming a great personage with so little effect, or seeming impression of any kind, does not much surprise me; there being more solutions than one to such a political phenomenon. As to *that* name being mentioned at all, I have ever thought it could produce no good effect.

May I beg you to assure Lord Shelburne of my compliments and cordial wishes for his health. I agree entirely in thinking, that a visit from his Lordship to Mr. Oliver cannot be expected from him, or would be natural, in his Lordship's present situation. A thousand sincere thanks from an invalid, who mends very slowly. Believe me, with true esteem and distinguished consideration, my dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

CHATHAM.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Thursday morning, past one o'clock.

[March 28, 1771.]

MY DEAR LORD,

AFTER a stranger scene than what I had last the honour to inform your Lordship of, the business is just ended in the Lord Mayor's commitment to the Tower. The motion first proposed was, to the the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, on account of his health. His Lordship told the House he was much recovered, and desired to go to his honourable friend in the Tower. Mr. Ellis, therefore, moved the amendment of the Tower. I opposed the punishment, on your Lordship's ground; Mr. Phipps rose after me, and took much larger. He denied the principles on which the House had proceeded. Dyson answered us. On this question little else was said. There was a division of 202 to 39. Barré, Cornwall, and Mr. James Grenville went away before the division, in consequence of Lord Mayor's last speech. The Rockinghams in general absented; Burke, Sir George Savile, and some others seceded.

Previous to this, there was a debate on Ellis's motion on the breach of privilege; which lasted till eleven o'clock, but no division. In the course of it, Mr. Wedderburne was fully paid for his insolence, by Barré and Serjeant Glynn. The former dressed him with dignity, propriety, and great severity. Lord North disclaimed going out, though

he wished much for ease and retirement. He added, that nothing but the King or the mob, who were near destroying him to-day, could remove him : he would weather out the storm ; but his pathetic manner and tears rather confirmed, than removed, my suspicions of his very anxious, perplexed situation. ⁽¹⁾

The concourse of people who attended Lord Mayor is incredible. They seized Lord North, broke his chariot, had got him amongst them, and but for Sir William Meredith's interfering, would probably have demolished him. This, with the insults to other members, caused an adjournment of business for some hours. The justices came to the bar to declare they could not read the riot act, and that their constables were overpowered. The sheriffs were then called upon : they went into the crowd, attended by many members, and quieted them by five o'clock ; when we proceeded on business. Mr. Ellis finished the evening by moving a select committee of twenty-one, to be chosen by ballot, to inquire into facts and circumstances relative to obstructions of the orders of the House. Mr. Wedderburne added a motion for an open one,

(1) In the course of his speech, Lord North expressed his conviction, that the mob who had attacked him were hired by the minority, to endeavour to effect without doors what they despaired of doing within. This brought up Mr. William Burke, who said that "it was a falsehood, a most egregious falsehood ; that the minority to a man were persons of honour, who scorned such a resource ; and that the charge could only emanate from a man who was hackneyed in indirect measures."

to inquire into the causes of the present riots and tumults. ⁽¹⁾ About ten o'clock the people again assembled, and are gone to the Mansion House with their magistrate. He goes from thence as soon as the Tower gates are open. ⁽²⁾ I must conclude, being really worn out ; but am, in all situations, with the warmest attachment,

Your Lordship's ever obliged, faithful, and
affectionate friend,

JOHN CALCRAFT.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Ingress, April 7, 1771.

LITTLE intelligence has reached this place since the parliament adjourned. ⁽³⁾ Mr. Ellis's committee

(1) Mr. Wedderburne's motion was for a committee "to inquire into the causes and occasion of the riots and tumults of the persons who assembled on Monday last, yesterday, and this day, in the avenues leading to this House, and attacked the persons of the members coming to attend their duty in parliament."

(2) On the following day, Mr. Charles Fox complained to the House, that the mob in Palace Yard had insulted him, broke the glasses of his carriage, and pelted him with oranges and stones, &c., and proceeded to complain of the conduct of the sheriffs ; but the debate was put an end to by Lord North, who moved the order of the day, which was carried by seventy-five against thirty-one.

(3) On the 30th of March, the Houses adjourned to the 9th of April ; by which the order for the appearance of Mr. Wilkes on the 8th was evaded.

met on Friday for the first time. It was with difficulty that seven of them were collected : the only business proceeded upon was the examination of the messenger. No plan seemed to be established ; report says, that violent measures are laid aside ; that a declaratory bill as to privilege is the measure intended. Lord John Cavendish and his friends do not attend.

Mr. Wedderburne's committee being adjourned to Monday puts an end to it ; the House not meeting till Tuesday. The world will have it, that Lord North goes out at the end of the session, and that there has been a treaty between Lord Camden and the Bedfords, but that 't is broken off.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, Sunday, April 7, 1771.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE a thousand thanks to return for the kind favour of your note. The two committees are completely ridiculous. I can easily believe that violent measures, in the present mode, are laid aside, and, at the same time, that a plan of despotism is fixed. The misfortune is, that the city is wrong in the matter of the Speaker's warrants to bring the printers before the House. The House seems to be aware, that they have been wrong in all the rest : the House will desist from their wrong ;

and the city persist in theirs. The reports of Lord Camden grieve me : his indiscretion, in appearances, is unpardonable ; but I yet trust that he will not dishonour himself, by deserting the constitution, however he has blemished his patriotism by such silly coquetry with the court.

I need not say, my dear friend, how little is left to keep up my animation towards public affairs : the desultoriness and no-plan of our friend in Pall Mall⁽¹⁾ ; the poor weakness of Lord Camden ; the no-weight of such advice as I can give, either in the city or in Grosvenor Square⁽²⁾, are circumstances not very encouraging. Yet, if want of health does not prevent, I will be found unshaken in my duty, and disdain what is wrong, as well as assist what is right, though hand join in hand to oppose me. Amidst this forbidding scene, I cannot forget the constant regard and friendship of one to whom I am invariably the obliged and affectionately attached

CHATHAM.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Ingress, April 8, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

It is with the utmost concern I subscribe to the very melancholy truths stated by your Lordship, of

(1) Lord Temple.

(2) The Marquis of Rockingham.

the unhappy situation of the present times. I have long been a feeling witness of what is now become manifest to the world: the only comfort I could derive was from your Lordship's fortitude, zeal, and ability; from thence alone the public could form any hopes. I glory in your noble perseverance, which I must flatter myself will even conquer these difficulties. All the little help an individual can lend is at your Lordship's devotion, and, untoward as the city councils are, if your Lordship has any hint to give, touching their proceedings at their common hall, I will endeavour to get it adopted by every channel that has confidence in me.

The want of a steady system in Pall Mall touches me nearly. His Lordship is roused. Cannot we flatter ourselves good may follow? Could he tread steadily in your Lordship's steps, I must own the childishness of Grosvenor Square would not disturb my mind. All this I wished to say in person, but a particular engagement of long standing prevents that satisfaction. To-morrow I mean to go up to parliament, and take a view of the political world in this strange crisis, proposing on my return to call at Hayes, possibly on Wednesday; for if the budget is the only business of that day it will not detain me.

Private letters just received confirm the idea of Lord North's quitting, and add, that the decay of Lord Halifax's faculties will not admit his continuing secretary of state. Mr. Turner is gone to York to get an address of thanks to the Lord Mayor.

I hear General Hervey says, that in case the counties and great cities take up the Lord Mayor's business eagerly, his Majesty will give way, and dissolve parliament. Your Lordship's most kind expressions, and very favourable opinions of my conduct, afford the most pleasing sensations. I will affirm, that my attachment is unalterable, and that, in every situation, your Lordship shall find me

Your most obliged, faithful,
and affectionate friend,

J. CALCRAFT.

P. S. A neighbour is just come in, who says, Mr. Sawbridge received an anonymous note on Saturday, intimating, that it is intended, on Tuesday, to commit Serjeant Glynn and Mr. Lee, for pleading on Friday before Lord Justice De Grey against the privileges of the House, and to give the court of aldermen their old negative power.⁽¹⁾

(1) On Friday the 5th, the Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver were brought by habeas-corpus from the Tower to Lord Chief Justice De Grey's chambers; when, after hearing Mr. Serjeant Glynn and Mr. Lee, the Lord Chief Justice declared it to be his opinion, that he could not bail or discharge them. They were then taken to Lord Mansfield's chambers; who also remanded them to the Tower: "This is no new case," said his Lordship; "I am obliged to go by law and precedent. I can neither bail nor discharge you, while the parliament is sitting."

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, Monday, April 8, 1771.

MY DEAR SIR,

YOUR kind letter finds me much the same in point of health, and Lady Chatham, thank God, better. The sentiments of true friendship and manly public spirit conveyed from you contribute not a little to render my task more cheerful, in the discharge of my duty towards a country which I love; though not for its gratitude to an old servant.

I have seen Lord Camden to-day, by my bedside; but not a word from him, with regard to any intercourse of the nature imputed to him. I would hope there has been nothing; but I own I have my fears. ⁽¹⁾ I did not conceal my system, as to the matters on foot, in parliament and city. I blamed both, where I think them wrong, and left his Lordship not a little perplexed; which seems to indicate his having entangled himself already; but this, time will show. I find his Lordship does not expect a motion to-morrow to release Lord Mayor and Mr. Oliver. I shall remain in hope of the pleasure of seeing you, on your return, and in the unceasing sentiments with which I am ever, my dear Sir, most affectionately yours,

CHATHAM.

(1) The following paragraph appeared in the daily papers of the 6th: — “We are informed, that Lord Camden has not deserted Lord Chatham and made his court to the Duke of Grafton, as inserted in some of the papers; but, on the contrary, has visited him twice this week at Hayes.”

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Shelburne House, Tuesday night.

[April 9, 1771.]

MY DEAR LORD,

THE weather has changed ; but not so as to give me hopes of hearing that your Lordship's complaint is subsided, in consequence of it. Since I saw your Lordship, I hear that Lord Temple has declared, some time since, his intention of moving for a dissolution. If he wishes Mr. James Grenville to make a similar motion in the House of Commons, I am persuaded he will find every support from our friends there.

I was mistaken when I informed your Lordship, that Mr. Sawbridge had given over his motion for shortening the duration of parliaments, for this session. I find his intention continues, as soon as he gets better of a slight indisposition, to move at the first vacant day. I have not mentioned to him or to Mr. Townshend your Lordship's idea, as you accompanied it with a caution ; though I am persuaded it would at once decide them, and wish to submit to your Lordship, how far it may be expedient between this and Friday. I am sure no step can operate so powerfully in support of our city friends. Though I have taken the liberty to mention it to your Lordship more than once, I have scrupled telling you how very much I have been

pressed upon it, until I saw it coincided with your Lordship's general views for the public.

I do not imagine it can furnish any new lights to your Lordship, with regard to an additional representation; but finding a reference in Sir David Dalrymple's book to a Scotch act of that nature passed at the Revolution, I send your Lordship a copy of it; as you may not have the Scotch acts. ⁽¹⁾

Mr. Cornwall has determined to move a clause in the money bill, to prevent members from sub-

⁽¹⁾ It is entitled "An Act for an additional Representation in Parliament of the greater Shires of this Kingdom," and runs thus: —

"Forasmuch as the meeting of the estates of this kingdom did represent, amongst other grievances, that the manner and measure of the lieges their representation in parliament is to be considered and redressed in the first parliament: and that by an act of James I. parl. 7. c. 101. 'the barons and freeholders may, out of ilk shire, send two more commissioners, according to its largeness, to represent them in parliament;' and which act is ratified in all its heads in the 11th parl. James VI. c. 114., our sovereign lord and lady, the king and queen's majesties, considering the largeness, extent, and value of all lands holden of them by the barons and freeholders within the shires aforementioned, to the effect they may have more equal representation in parliament, with the barons and freeholders of the other shires of the kingdom: Therefore, their majesties, with advice and consent of the estates of parliament, statute and ordain, that in all parliaments, meetings, and conventions of estates to be holden henceforth and hereafter, the barons and freeholders of the shires after mentioned shall add to their former representation the number of commissioners after exprest, viz. the shire of Edinburgh two, the shire of Roxburgh two, the shire of Haddington two, the shire of Lanark two, the shire of Dumfries two, the stewartry of Kircudbright one, the shire of Ayr two, the shire of Stirling one, the shire of Perth two, the shire of Aberdeen two, the shire of Argyle one, the shire of Fife two, the shire of Forfar two, and the shire of Renfrew one: and it is thereby declared, that this act shall take effect in the next session of this parliament, and in all parliaments and conventions of estates thereafter."

scribing to more than twenty tickets in the proposed lottery, on a former precedent.⁽¹⁾ It is reported, that the session will end on the 2d of May. The rumour continues of Lord North's removal. I am, with all possible regard and esteem,

Your Lordship's obliged and
faithful servant,
SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Hayes, Wednesday.
[April 10, 1771.]

MY DEAR LORD,

YOUR apprehensions for the continuance of my complaint this weather are extremely obliging and too well founded; headach and winter having kept me in the house, ever since I had the pleasure of seeing your Lordship.

I rejoice to hear what you understand of Lord Temple's resolution to move a dissolution. My illness has prevented me from learning his purposes explicitly, though I collected such might

(¹) Mr. Cornwall moved his clause on the following day; when it was rejected by thirty-one against eleven. In the course of his speech he asserted, that fifty members had each subscribed for five hundred tickets; which would produce them net profit of one thousands pounds, and secure the minister fifty votes in all perilous conjunctures.

probably be his intention. Your Lordship's suggestion concerning Mr. James Grenville is perfectly good, and ought to be pleasing to Lord Temple. As to the idea of shortening the duration of parliaments, I still wish that it may rest with your Lordship, until I have an opportunity of communicating with Lord Temple upon it, and also with Lord Lyttelton, the Duke of Northumberland, and some others. This cannot well be in the course of this week. I trust, by the aid of a vernal breeze, if such a thing be in store, that I may be able to crawl next week. Mr. Sawbridge can hardly make his motion sooner.

What your Lordship is so good as to tell me of Mr. Cornwall's intention gives me great pleasure: the idea is sound, and the matter perfectly in parliamentary propriety: the analogy of restrictions upon revenue officers seems strongly to support such a motion. Accept a thousand thanks, my dear Lord, for your very obliging attention in sending the extract of the Scotch act: it had not reached my knowledge. You say nothing of yourself: I hope your Lordship's recent visit brought no inconvenience upon you, and that this cruel weather does not affect you.

I have the honour to remain, ever, with perfect truth, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and affectionate

CHATHAM.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Thursday night, April 11, 1771.

AFTER some discourse on the report of the budget, came on to-day the Durham Yard Embankment bill. Thin as the House was, Mr. Dunning exerted himself. We had three divisions : fifty-four to thirteen ; fifty-four to sixteen, and the third nearly the same. So the bill is passed. ⁽¹⁾

Lord Holderness is governor to the Prince of Wales ; Mr. Smelt of Yorkshire, sub-governor ; and another gentleman of that county, whose name I have not heard, preceptor. Lord North was ignorant of this transaction till Monday ; when he was

⁽¹⁾ "Another occasion of contest between the city and the legislature," says Mr. Adolphus, "arose in the bill for enabling certain persons to enclose and embank part of the river Thames adjoining to Durham Yard. The proposition was referred to a committee, who recommended that the bill should be brought in. The city, considering their property exposed to encroachment, were heard by counsel : they produced a grant of Henry the Seventh, of all the soil and bed of the river from Staines Bridge to a place in Kent, near the Medway, and showed a lease granted by them, sixty-six years before this period, of a nook of the river at Vauxhall, under which they still continued to receive rent. On the other side, a charter of Charles the Second to the city was produced, in which he reserved the bed of the river ; and it was contended that the city, by receiving the latter grant, abandoned the former ; that the charter of Henry the Seventh extended only to the soil of the river within the city and suburbs. The lease of Vauxhall was said to be a mere encroachment, and the right of the city was utterly denied. These arguments prevailed : the bill passed both Houses ; and the magnificent pile of buildings, called the Adelphi, was erected on the site."

sent for to court, told by his Majesty he had settled his son's family, and ordered to make provision for them. His Lordship asked to recommend: the answer was, "All is settled; it is too late." My Lord then made his bow. I have scarce time to save the post.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

April 12, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

BY last night's post your Lordship would receive a note from me. His Majesty's language to Lord North was very particular: he said he felt the want of a liberal education; that he was brought up in wrong principles, but would have his son a Whig, and his family properly established. Nevertheless, Lord Mansfield's friend, the Bishop of Chester ⁽¹⁾, is preceptor, and the Yorkshire gentleman, Mr. Jackson ⁽²⁾, sub-preceptor. Lord Harcourt thought

(1) Dr. Markham; in 1776 translated to the archbishopric of York. See Vol. I. p. 430.

(2) The reverend Cyril Jackson, a native of Stamford, in Lincolnshire. He was educated at Westminster school, whence he removed to Christchurch College, Oxford, where he graduated D.D. in 1781. For his services as sub-preceptor to George the Fourth, he was made canon of that college, and on the elevation of Dr. Bagot to a bishopric, in 1782, succeeded him in the deanery. He declined the mitre, both as Irish primate and English bishop, and died in 1819. He is described, in the Quarterly Review, vol. xxiii. p. 403., as "an

himself sure of this, and had, I know, promised places in consequence. 'T is a strange mystery!

Mr. Ridley has laid aside his intention of moving the Lord Mayor's enlargement. The Speaker was so very good to me, and tender of the magistrate's liberty, that he recommended this measure, and wished either I or some of my friends would adopt it; but I was hard-hearted and declined it.

I find various opinions about Lord North's speech. ⁽¹⁾ Some think it indicated retirement, others the reverse. I am your Lordship's ever obliged and affectionate friend,

J. CALCRAFT.

extraordinary character, who, if he did not feel the ambition, at least possessed the genius of governing, and who, after a reign of twenty years, retired, like the imperial philosopher of antiquity, into the uttermost solitude, appearing to forget all men and all things, and himself as much forgotten as the greatness of the character he had left behind him allowed. It is said, that he had kept a diary of his life, which, in an unfortunate hour, he destroyed; from an apprehension, that his records, by the imprudence of friends, or the maliciousness of enemies, might be productive of some of the mischief which he had witnessed in those of others."

⁽¹⁾ On bringing forward the budget. In the course of his speech, Lord North said, there was nothing to interrupt the peace and prosperity of the country, but the discontents which a desperate faction was fomenting, by the basest falsehoods, and with the most iniquitous views. He was answered by Mr. Burke and Colonel Barré, who maintained, that notwithstanding the glosses of the ministry, it was manifest peace would be of short duration, and stigmatised the lottery as an iniquitous project to bribe the servants of the public to betray their trust.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Hayes, Friday, April 12, 1771.

MY DEAR SIR,

YOUR kind letter by your servant is very interesting, and I am truly obliged to you for the anecdote of the royal language. I have two doubts; first, the certainty of the words being said; secondly, the sincerity of them, if actually said. If said, and with a sincere mind (which I totally distrust), I should judge a change of system intended: whether as to persons or measures I do not say; though if the latter, the first is implied. I see nothing in the appointment of the Prince of Wales's education repugnant to the notion of a change of measures: Lord Holderness, upon the whole, the properest person belonging to the King and Queen; the preceptor of no consequence in the political system. He is to form the *child* in literature, and has little to do with the *prince*. Is the lord governor Lord Bute's man, or the man of the King and Queen? On the solution of this decisive question, the whole seems to turn.

The Speaker's language is material. They feel their ground untenable, as to all the steps which the House has taken, since the sending for the printers; which (if the city's charter is not in the way) is certainly defensible, and the clear right of the House. Every step since that is rank tyranny, and nothing but dissolution can compose this scene of confusion and ruin.

I am, most unalterably, yours,

CHATHAM.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Pall Mall, April 18, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

I TOTALLY agree with you, in respect to the city transactions. I lamented with those of the city whom I first saw, that they did not content themselves with standing upon the impregnable ground of the illegal proclamation ; however, that, since they were in the scrape, it must be covered and got out of as well as they could. The incredible imbecility and rashness of the idiot ministry have been very helpful to them ; and, upon the whole, the embarrassment and disgrace to the court put them in a lower and more distressful light than if my Lord Mayor had not interfered at all.

I am clear, likewise, that at the very end of the session a motion for a dissolution would come with the greatest propriety, and with a proper and forcible protest should point out the proper line for the city. If any thing, my dear Lord, could call me down to the House of Lords, it would be that measure, and I had almost determined upon it in my own mind ; but I confess the general state of the Opposition, the implacable division in the city, which the demon of discord hath so plentifully scattered, have, without blaming either side particularly, reduced me to a state of despondency for the public, which makes me think it almost unmanly to step again into any public transaction. What Lord Lyttelton can be induced to do, I can-

not, with any precision, say. My nephew James I think very proper to make the motion in the House of Commons ; and I well know how his own inclinations stand affected.

As to the other points of shortening the duration of parliament, and increasing the knights of the shire, my general notion of the former your Lordship knows, and for the latter, in general, I should wish it success, when matured and ripened. ⁽¹⁾

I am, my dear Lord,

Your most affectionate brother,

TEMPLE.

LORD CAMDEN TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Sunday Morning.

[April 21, 1771.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAVE the honour of your Lordship's letter, but have yet received no summons for a meeting this

(¹) Lord Chatham, on the preceding day, had written a letter to Earl Temple, to which the above is the answer. The following extract of that letter was read at a common council held in Guildhall on the 7th of April, 1780, and ordered to be entered on the journals of the court : — “ Allow a speculator, in a great chair, to add, that a plan for more equal representation, by additional knights of the shire, seems highly seasonable ; and to shorten the duration of parliaments not less so. If your Lordships should approve, could Lord Lyttelton's caution be brought to taste those ideas, we should take possession of strong ground, let who will decline to follow us. One line of men, I am assured, will zealously support, and a respectable weight of law.

‘ *Si quid novisti rectius istis candidus imperti.* ’ ”

evening, and I really imagined the business of the session was at an end; having been informed that the parliament was to be prorogued on Thursday next. I imagine that many of our friends will be unwilling to second the address for dissolution, and do much fear, that people are at present tired with a repetition of the same subject; but I wait to hear your Lordship's motives, and will, though I did not intend to go to London before Tuesday, contrive to meet your Lordship this evening. I have the honour to be, with perfect attachment,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

faithful servant,

CAMDEN.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELburnE.

Hayes, April 22, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAVE not been idle, as far as an aching head would permit, to ascertain the dispositions of some essential quarters, with respect to the objects on which we conversed, when your Lordship had the goodness to let me see you at Hayes. As to shortening the duration of parliaments, I find a real dislike to the measure, in minds very sound about other public matters. The dread of the more frequent returns of corruption, together with every dissoluteness, which elections spread through the

country, strongly indisposes families of all descriptions to such an alteration. As I am persuaded that this opinion is genuine, and very widely extended, I should think it totally unadvisable for me to stir it. As to additional knights of the shire, I collect little encouragement. At best, the thing, in theory, is not quite disapproved, but the execution not much desired by any ; probably arising from the present conduct of representatives of counties, not the most enlightened or spirited part of the House.

In this state, my dear Lord, I confess I see nothing clear before me, but a motion for dissolution. This I am ready to undertake, with the honour of your Lordship's support. Lord Temple entirely approves it, but, at the same time, has not engaged to come to the House of Lords. Time and further reflection may still bring him. His Lordship's opinion, in which I readily agree, is, that the motion for dissolution is only proper for the House of Lords at present, considering the shattered state of St. Stephen's, and the kind of dereliction of that place. I hope to get to town about Friday, and would make the motion early next week.

As I intend a communication to Lord Rockingham and others, before I give notice to the Lords, your Lordship will allow me to wish that this determination may not be mentioned beyond the narrow circle of particular friends. A protest will be very necessary in this crisis ; which I have in mind, and

should be proud and happy to receive the assistance of Mr. Dunning in a matter too much beyond my line. Accept my sincerest wishes for your health, and believe me ever, my dear Lord,

Very affectionately yours,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Monday morning, past twelve.

[April 22, 1771.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I HOPE to hear that your Lordship's complaint is at least lessened; which is, I am afraid, all that can be said of the east wind. This is my first purpose in troubling you; my next is to acquaint you of the state of the Durham Yard bill; as your Lordship expressed an intention of attending in the progress of it, if your health permitted, not from any personal wish of my own concerning it. The counsel for the city have finished; that for the church of Westminster remains to be heard, as well as those for the petitioners. They will certainly take up the whole of this day; so that the debate may be either to-morrow or Wednesday.

I send your Lordship a printed bill, together with the city's case. The petitioners have given in none. The evidence, indeed, which is admitted, of the pendency of suits in the King's Bench, and

the claim of the city disputable as it is, stated in the very extraordinary clause inserted in the bill, would be enough to stop any in the ordinary course, but the appearance of Lord Mansfield, Duke of Grafton, Lord Gower, Weymouth, &c. promise a different issue. Though the Chancellor told me parliament would sit till the tenth, every body speaks of its rising on the second, Thursday se'nnight. I beg my compliments to Lady Chatham, and have the honour to be, with great truth,

Your Lordship's obliged

and faithful servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Monday, six o'clock.

[April 22, 1771.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM this moment returned from the House of Lords, where the counsel on the Durham Yard bill are to proceed again to-morrow, not having been able to finish to-day. I understood there, that the ministry have at last obtained their peace; that Spain is to disarm immediately, and orders will be issued for the same on our part instantly. I did not hear the terms with any accuracy. I have just had time to read your Lordship's letter, with dinner on the table. I cannot but lament the dispositions

your Lordship describes. I am persuaded Mr. Dunning will be always happy in knowing your Lordship's wishes, and assisting in carrying them into execution. Your Lordship will excuse my writing hastily, and believe me, at all times,

Your Lordship's

obliged humble servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Hayes, Monday evening.
[April 22, 1771.]

MY DEAR LORD,

OUR letters will have crossed on the road. Your Lordship's to me demands my best thanks, for the favour of the information transmitted relating to the city bill. Unfortunately, my complaint renders it impossible for me to attempt attendance, on a long day, in the course of this week. My letter will have apprized your Lordship of my wishes as to the rest, and leaves me little to trouble you with in addition.

I take for granted, that my Lord Chancellor cannot be mistaken, as to the end of the session, and make no doubt, that Monday next will do for the motion for dissolution. If illness, contrary to expectation, should defeat my purpose, I recommend to your Lordship to make the motion, though alone,

and to honour my name, by declaring my intention to have made it, and warmest concurrence in opinion with your Lordship. The times demand decision, and I am inflexible on the point of dissolution. It is my happiness to know the perfect concurrence on this head between us. I am ever, with perfect truth and unalterable esteem, my dear Lord,

Your respectfully affectionate

CHATHAM.

LORD CAMDEN TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Lincoln's Inn Fields,
April 24, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM honoured with your Lordship's letter this morning, and am happy to hear that your health is so far restored as to enable you to take an active share in public business.

Though your Lordship seems to doubt how far I am open to a concurrence with your Lordship upon a motion to dissolve the parliament, I can with the greatest truth assure you, that I am open and at full liberty, and have been in that situation from the day of my dismissal to this moment, to join any opposition in any measure against the whole or any part of the administration, and that I am under the influence of nothing but my own opinion, which (though weak to persuade any other person) must be my own guide and director.

Your Lordship, then, must excuse me for saying, that I never did approve the measure of pressing by a motion for an immediate dissolution, and still continue to think it was neither politic nor practicable. Your Lordship will be pleased to remember how unwillingly I was drawn to give a silent assent to the motion last year, at the Duke of Richmond's; when it was prepared, as the last necessary measure to obtain satisfaction for the violence of the Middlesex election. However, I did assent; but when, the next day, the motion was introduced upon a larger ground, the general state of the nation, and some proceedings were then arraigned which had passed while I belonged to the administration, I was under a necessity of leaving the House. This circumstance, though it mortified me not a little, yet relieved me from joining in a vote, which I did not perfectly approve upon any ground.

I cannot help, my dear Lord, reflecting with grief and concern, that the last year should be the first that ever produced a difference of opinion between your Lordship and myself upon public measures; and I do assure your Lordship, that I am at this moment unhappy to find my sentiments upon so important a question as the motion proposed in your Lordship's letter, to disagree with your Lordship's determined resolution.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect regard, your Lordship's obliged friend and humble servant,

CAMDEN.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELburnE.

Hayes, April 24, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

My letters are doomed to be tidings of ill to the public. I learnt yesterday that Lord Lyttelton is totally averse to attending a motion for dissolution. I have this day the mortification to hear from Lord Camden, that he disapproves and cannot attend it. I found in the Duke of Northumberland no inclination to such a motion, or expectation of support from others; though, to do his Grace justice, full himself of right and worthy dispositions towards the constitution and public welfare. I need not add, that we have little support to expect from the other quarter of opposition.

In this state, my dear Lord, what is most advisable? I am ready to bear my testimony; but I think it deserves consideration, whether the great object, dissolution, from which I shall never depart, may not lose instead of gaining ground, by being so feebly asserted, and so largely forsaken within doors. Perhaps it may be better to leave it to the honest demand of the people without doors. I confess I am not a little wounded with unseasonable refinements in some, and tergiversations in others. I wish very anxiously to learn your Lordship's thoughts under this dilemma, and to be assisted in taking the fittest resolution for the public, by the opinion of one who, I know, truly pursues the

good of the whole. My complaint will not let go its hold, though I rather mend daily. I am ever, with the truest attachment, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's

most faithful and

unalterable friend and servant,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF SHELBURN TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Shelburne House, Thursday,
April 25, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM heartily sorry for the results of the several communications your Lordship has made of your wishes and those of the friends of the public. It is not my business, still less my inclination, to judge the motives of any; the public, however, necessarily will, and I greatly fear the consequence will either be general despondency, or very ill judged violence.

Your Lordship's conduct never needs a testimony. I shall always reflect with pleasure on the opportunities I have had of seeing the openness and explicitness of it towards the public: it would be gross injustice not to add, on points suggested by others, as well as those which have originated from your Lordship.

In this situation, I have given the necessary orders for my journey, and hope to be gone in the course

of next week ; persuaded your Lordship can have no further commands here for your humble servant. I have had some conversation about city matters, which I will communicate to your Lordship before I go. Nothing can be done till the Lord Mayor's releasement ; and they now talk of the session lasting, on account of private councils, till the 15th.

I am your Lordship's obliged and
most faithful servant,
SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE MARQUIS OF
ROCKINGHAM.

[From a draught in Lord Chatham's handwriting.]

April 25, 1771.

MY LORD,

AN obstinate complaint, in consequence of a violent cold, has long prevented my being in London, in a period strongly commanding the utmost attention of every lover of the constitution, of the least knowledge or experience. The present crisis holds forth opposite extremes, in neither of which the constitution does or can consist. In such an unhinged condition, it appears to me highly fit and necessary, that the House of Lords should manifest to the people some sense of the dangers of the present conflict of jurisdictions. A motion for dissolution

would let us into the matter, and I am now, thank God, enough recovered to offer with zeal my poor services in making this motion next week, if I may hope for the honour of your Lordship's concurrence and support. As I have no view but the public good, I know I shall not need much apology to your Lordship for the liberty of this intrusion, and for hoping to be honoured with your Lordship's sentiments, in a situation so affecting and urgent.

I have the honour to remain always, with sincere esteem and respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,

CHATHAM.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Friday evening, 5 o'clock,
April 26, 1771.

MY LORD,

THE state of doubt and anxiety in which my mind has been almost continually agitated on Lady Rockingham's account, ever since the beginning of December, has made it impossible for me either to be as active or indeed to give that attention to public matters, which I feel the perplexed and unfortunate situation of public affairs would and have required. I will communicate the letter I have the honour to receive from your Lordship to the Duke

of Richmond. His Grace had some thoughts of making a motion in the House of Lords on the subject of the resolution of restraint, which was laid aside by the House last session.⁽¹⁾ On Sunday evening,

(1) On the 30th of April, the question of the Middlesex election was again brought before the House of Lords by the Duke of Richmond; who moved, "That the resolution of this House, of the 2d of February, 1770, 'that any resolution of this House directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the House of Commons, in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive, would be a violation of the constitutional rights of the Commons, tends to make a breach between the two Houses of parliament, and leads to general confusion,' be expunged." The following report of Lord Chatham's speech upon the occasion appeared in the Public Advertiser:—

The Earl of *Chatham*.—"My Lords, the present question has been so frequently agitated, and is so perfectly understood, that it may seem superfluous to enter into the discussion of it on this occasion. The public has certainly formed its opinion, and condemned the decision of the two Houses. That circumstance alone is to me a sufficient motive for refreshing your Lordships' memories, and for making one attempt more to procure justice to the injured electors of Great Britain.—My Lords, it is said, that this step will create divisions between the two Houses, at a time which calls for the most perfect unanimity. Unanimity in the two Houses is certainly very commendable, when both adhere to the principles of the constitution; but in the case of the Middlesex election, the Commons have daringly violated the laws of the land; and it becomes us not to remain tame spectators of such a deed, if we would not be deemed accessory to the guilt; if we would not be branded with treason to our country, which now loudly calls for our assistance. Remove but this resolution, which my noble friend has demonstrated to be unconstitutional and absurd; and we have an undoubted right to take this step. We have precedent on our side. Our forefathers exercised this right in the case of *Ashby and White*, and received the applauses of the whole nation. It is ridiculous to pretend, that by this act we shall commit a breach of privilege. The Commons can have no privilege by which they are authorised to break the laws. Whenever they forget themselves, and commit such an outrage, we must step forward and check their usurpation. Their jurisdiction can, in no instance, be so competent, final, and exclusive, as to prevent us from exerting ourselves in support of the constitution.

or Monday morning, I will communicate to your Lordship what the opinion of the Lords with whom

We are the natural, the constitutional balance to their encroachments. If this be not the case, why, in the name of wonder, were the three estates constituted? Why is our concurrence necessary to establish the validity of statutes? — My Lords, this point is so evident, that it may be left to the decision of the rawest school-boy. If, then, we must concern ourselves in the making of every law, how much more are we bound to interest ourselves in preserving the very essence of the constitution, in preserving that right which is antecedent to all laws, the right of election? But Lord Middlesex and Lord Bacon were expelled and incapacitated by this House, without any opposition from the other branches of the legislature! They were so; but both were cases that only respected themselves, and, consequently, could not, with any propriety, come under the consideration of any other branch. In the case of Wilkes, I do not complain so much of the personal injury, as the violation of the rights of the people, who are grossly abused and betrayed by their representatives. The cases, then, being as widely different as north and south, the argument founded on them becomes utterly inconclusive. But let us allow you a succedaneum to your argument; let us suppose that the authority which gives a seat to a peer is as respectable as that which confers it on a commoner, and that both authorities are equally affronted by expulsion and incapacitation. Yet still the comparison will not hold; since these lords received no fresh title by birth or patent, and therefore could not claim a seat after the first expulsion. Wilkes may, perhaps, complain that he was unjustly expelled; but the chief subject of this nation's complaint is, that he was rejected after his re-election. Had not this event taken place, prescription might have rendered the first expulsion valid. If you ask, who should be more tenacious than the Commons themselves of their privileges? I answer, that none should be so ready to protect them; and it is sincerely to be lamented, that, by their recent conduct, they have so far forgot their duty, as to add to the long list of venality, from Esau down to the present day; though, if we consider matters in their true light, it is the privileges of their constituents that they have betrayed. Having now set up a separate and independent authority, they would acquire, and you would grant them, a new privilege, that of selling their constituents. — If you desire to know how this doctrine came to be broached, I must beg leave to acquaint you, that it is as old, nay older than the constitution; the liberty of the people being the first thing for which provision is made in the original institution of government. Though, in the case of Wilkes, we have not many instances to prove the contested right, yet it is by no means the less constitutional; nay, it is the more so, that there are

I have the happiness generally to concur with, may be on the motion proposed. I understood, some time ago, that Lord Temple had thoughts of making the motion at the end of the session, which your Lord-

no parallel cases in history ; as this circumstance proves, that it was never before questioned. The unfrequency of the phenomenon may, indeed, like a comet in the firmament, dazzle the vulgar and untutored ; but the statesman, versed in political science, it affects no more than the common appearance, its course being equally simple and intelligible. Some have attempted to be very exact in calculating the proportion which the petitioners bear to those who have remained quiet ; but they have been unfortunate in one circumstance, of which the omission overturns their whole system. They have compared the number of counties, not the number of their inhabitants. They have forgot that they are not all equally populous, and that the fifteen petitioning counties contain more people than all the rest of the kingdom, as they pay infinitely more land tax. And were they not the more numerous of the two parties, yet the superiority of their wealth entitles them to more consideration than other counties ; for the share of the national burdens, which any part of the kingdom bears, is the only rule by which we can judge of the weight that it ought to have in the political balance. The reasoning is founded on the supposition that they entertain sentiments different from one another. But who does not see that the rest only wanted leaders, to rouse them to action ? Were the case otherwise, leaders were not wanting to excite them to present addresses ; and they would certainly have presented them, had they disapproved of the petitions. After considering the vast influence of the crown, we may be justly surprised that fifteen counties had the virtue to assert their rights, and the remainder independence enough not to counteract them. But, were the majority clearly on your side, you ought to remember that numbers do not constitute right, and that, if no more than one had petitioned, that one ought to be heard, and to have its cause tried and adjudged by the laws of the land. My Lords, this much I thought necessary to say on this head, in order to show you the necessity of rescinding the resolution on which the present motion is founded. Till it is complied with, we can take no step towards the removal of the present discontents ; and I should imagine that this single consideration would be sufficient to induce all honest men to vote for the noble lord's proposition."

After a long debate, the motion was rejected by fifty-five against thirty-five.

ship now proposes. I have the honour to be, with great truth and regard, your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

ROCKINGHAM.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Tuesday noon. [April 30, 1771.]

MY DEAR LORD,

As the Shoreham election bill⁽¹⁾ is not printed, I sent for it last night to the House of Lords, and took

(1) For the petition against the returning officer of New Shoreham, see *antè*, p. 59. In the course of his defence, at the bar of the House, he disclosed a disgusting scene of venality, perjury, and hypoerisy. A majority of the freemen had formed themselves into an association called the Christian Club; the pretended motives of their confederacy being piety and charity, the real purpose, corruption. They made a traffic of their oaths and consciences, offered the borough to sale to the highest bidder, and precluded the other freemen from any benefieial exercise of their franchise. The circumstances thus disclosed were taken into consideration, and the bill above referred to brought in, by which eighty-one freemen of Shoreham named in the bill were disfranchised, and rendered incapable of voting at any election of members of parliament, and the right of electing members for that borough extended to all the freeholders in the rape of Bramber, who had tenements of the value of forty shillings. This measure was by some considered too lenient, and proposals were made utterly to disfranchise the borough, but the precedent was thought dangerous; others, on the contrary, were desirous to limit the punishment to the operations of law on the guilty individuals; but this was rejected, as affording, from the difficulty of obtaining legal evidence, a prospect of certain immunity. The bill passed both Houses, and received the royal assent on the last day of the session.

the enclosed extract from it, which contains the principal clauses, thinking it might be agreeable to your Lordship at least to be apprized of the nature of that or any thing that tends to reformation of the great evil—the present state of the representation. It passed in the Commons not much attended to by any party, I believe, and I understand is meant to be thrown out by the ministry in the House of Lords ; where it was read the first time yesterday, and no day fixed for the second reading. Mr. Dunning has refused the city to appear for Mr. Oliver's habeas corpus this day in the Exchequer.

I hope to meet your Lordship quite well at the House, and am

Your Lordship's most devoted servant,

SHELBURNE.(¹)

(¹) On the following day, May 1., Lord Chatham brought forward his motion for an address to the King to dissolve the parliament after the end of the session, and to call a new one with convenient despatch. The subjoined report of his Lordship's speech appeared, a few days after, in the Public Advertiser :—

The Earl of *Chatham*.—"My Lords, it is not many years since this nation was the envy and terror of its neighbours. Alone and unassisted it seemed to balance the half of Europe. Nor was the aspect of its affairs abroad more flattering than at home. Concord and unanimity prevailed throughout the whole extent of the British empire. Whatever heats and animosities might subsist between the grandees, the body of the people was satisfied. No complaints, no murmurs, were heard. No petitions, much less remonstrances, for redress of grievances, were carried up to the throne ; nor were hired mobs necessary to keep the sovereign in countenance by their venal shouts. Nothing was heard on every side, but one general burst of acclamation and joy. But how is the prospect darkened ! How are the mighty fallen ! On public days the royal ears are saluted with hisses and

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM

Leeds Abbey, Friday evening,
May 17, 1771.

MY DEAR LORD,

WHEN I had the honour of writing to your Lordship on Tuesday, I was so much oppressed with

hoots*; and he sees libels against his person and government written with impunity; juries solemnly acquitting the publishers. What greater mortification can befall a monarch! Yet this sacrifice he makes to his ministers. To their false steps, not to his own, he owes his disgrace. By their intrigues, the last inglorious peace, the origin of our evils, was effected, and approved by parliament, though it was loudly condemned by the nation. By their intrigues, the last shameful convention received the same sanction.

My lords, were this sacrifice of our honour and interest abroad compensated by the wisdom of our domestic government, it would be some comfort. But the fact is, that Great Britain, Ireland, and America, are equally dissatisfied, and have reason to be dissatisfied, with the ministry. The impolitic taxes laid upon America, and the system of violence there adopted, have unfortunately soured the minds of the people, and rendered them disaffected to the present parliament, if not to the King. Ireland has various reasons to complain. An enumeration of them would be tedious. You may judge of their number and magnitude by the present flame. The measures taken to carry the Middlesex election in favour of the court; the decision of that election; the murders of St. George's Fields; the refusal of the Commons to inquire into these murders, and into the conduct of those who advised his Majesty to bestow thanks and rewards upon the persons immediately concerned†; the payment of the immense debt contracted by the crown, without inspecting any account; all these circumstances had justly alarmed the nation, and made them uncommonly attentive to the operations of parliament. Hence the publication of the parliamentary debates. And where was the injury, if the members acted upon honest principles? For a public assembly to be afraid of having their deliberations published is monstrous, and speaks for itself. No

* In his passage to and from the House of Lords, on the 28th of March, his Majesty had been grossly insulted by the mob.

† Mr. Burke's motion, respecting the riots in St. George's Fields, was negatived by two hundred and forty-five to thirty-nine.

pain and weakness, that I scarce knew what I wrote; the attack was most violent though short.

mortal can construe such a procedure to their advantage: it, and the practice of locking the doors, are sufficient to open the eyes of the blind; they must see that all is not well within. — Not satisfied, however, with shutting their doors, the Commons would overturn the liberty of the press. The printers had spirit, and resisted. The irritated Commons exerted their privilege above the laws of the land, and their servants acted illegally in the execution of their illegal orders. The magistrates of London undertook the cause of the printers, and the protection of the laws, and of the city's franchises. The Commons still proceeded with the same outrageous violence. They called upon the magistrates to justify their conduct, and would not suffer them to be heard by counsel. These men, who had allowed the prostituted electors of Shoreham counsel to defend a bargain to sell their borough by auction, would not grant the same indulgence to the Lord Mayor of London, pleading for the laws of England, and the conscientious discharge of his duty. Accordingly, they committed him to the Tower for not violating his oath. The most sacred obligation of morality and religion they voted criminal, when it happened to stand in competition with their assumed privileges. Their next step was the act of a mob, and not of a parliament.* I mean the recognizance entered at Guildhall. We have heard of such violence committed by the French king; and it seems much better calculated for the latitude of Paris than of London. The people of this kingdom will never submit to such barefaced tyranny. They must see that it is time to rouse, when their own creatures dare to assume a power of stopping† prosecutions by their vote, and consequently of resolving the law of the land into their will and pleasure. The imprudence, and indeed the absolute madness, of these measures, demonstrates not the result of that assembly's calm, unbiassed deliberations, but the dictates of weak, uninformed ministers, influenced by those who mislead the sovereign. It is impossible that a grave, and once venerable body of men, if left to itself, should have converted government into a scuffle with a single individual. Were the Commons not absolute slaves to the man who holds the golden keys of the treasury, they could never have rendered the very name of parliament ridiculous, by carrying on a constant war against Mr. Wilkes.

* "By mere violence, and without the shadow of a right, they have expunged the record of a judicial proceeding. Lord Chatham very properly called this *the act of a mob, not of a senate*." — *Junius*, vol. ii. p. 220.

† "Nothing remained, but to attribute to their own vote a power of *stopping* the whole distribution of criminal and civil justice." — *Ib.* vol. ii. p. 220.

It has left me much reduced ; but by great care, I hope in a few days to be able personally to express

To them it is entirely owing that he is become a person of consequence in the state. They first made him representative for Middlesex, and then alderman of London. Now they seem determined to make him sheriff, and in due course lord mayor. When he set their authority at defiance, in the case of the printers, they repeatedly declared him amenable to their jurisdiction, and actually served him with more than one order to attend. Upon being found refractory, they shamefully gave up the point; after punishing the chief magistrate of the city, they suffered him to escape with impunity, and, in the face of the world, acknowledged him to be their lord and master. — My lords, matters being thus circumstanced, the Commons being both odious and contemptible, there remains but one possible remedy for the evil. In order to save the name and institution of parliament from ruin, the Commons must, according to the earnest request of a majority of the electors of England, and the wish of almost all the nation, be dissolved. This step may restore good humour and tranquillity on the one hand, and good government on the other. Not that I imagine this act alone sufficient. No; I have no such sanguine expectation; I suspect it will prove but a temporary and partial remedy. The influence of the crown is become so enormous, that some stronger bulwark must be erected for the defence of the constitution. The act for constituting septennial parliaments must be repealed. Formerly the inconveniences attending short parliaments had great weight with me; but now we are not debating upon a question of convenience: our all is at stake: our whole constitution is giving way; and therefore, with the most deliberate and solemn conviction, I declare myself *a convert to triennial parliaments*. Influenced by all these considerations, I move your Lordships, ‘That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most dutifully and earnestly beseeching his Majesty, that, under the late violations of the rights of the electors of Great Britain, in the election for Middlesex, still unredressed, and in the present conflict which has so unhappily arisen between the claims of privilege of the House of Commons on one side, and those of magistracy on the other, his Majesty will, in his paternal wisdom, deign to open the way to compose this alarming warfare; and that, in order to prevent the said House and the nation from being involved in intemperate discussions of undefined powers, which, in the extreme, may endanger the constitution, and tend to shake the tranquillity of the kingdom, his Majesty will be graciously pleased to recur to the recent sense of his people, by dissolving, after the end of this session, the present parliament, and calling, with convenient despatch, a new parliament.’”

After a debate which lasted till a late hour, and during which

my warmest acknowledgments for your Lordship's and Lady Chatham's obliging attention to one,

none but peers were admitted, the motion was negatived by seventy-two against twenty-three. By a reference to Vol. III. p. 464., it will be seen, that Lord Chatham, in his answer to the thanks of the city of London for his declaration in favour of short parliaments, made use of these words :—“ With all my deference to the sentiments of the city, I am bound to declare, that I cannot recommend triennial parliaments as a *remedy* against that canker in the constitution, venality in elections : purity of parliament is the corner-stone in the commonwealth ; and as one obvious means towards this necessary end, is to strengthen and extend the natural relation between the constituents and the elected, I have, in this view, publicly expressed my earnest wishes for a more full and equal representation, by the addition of one knight of the shire in a county, as a further balance to the mercenary boroughs.” The Reverend John Horne (afterwards the celebrated John Horne Tooke), having, in a letter to Junius, of the 31st of July, 1771, charged Lord Chatham with having, by this answer, “ given up the people,” the unjust accusation drew from Junius, on the 13th of August, the following powerful reply :—“ The shortening the duration of parliaments is a subject on which Mr. Horne cannot enlarge too warmly. If I did not profess the same sentiments, I should be shamefully inconsistent with myself. It is unnecessary to bind Lord Chatham by the written formality of an engagement. He has publicly declared himself *a convert to triennial parliaments* ; and I have long been convinced, that this is the only possible resource we have left to preserve the substantial freedom of the constitution. It seems I am a partisan of the great leader of the Opposition. If the charge had been a reproach, it should have been better supported. I did not intend to make a public declaration of the respect I bear Lord Chatham. I well knew what unworthy conclusions would be drawn from it ; but I am called upon to deliver my opinion, and surely it is not in the little censure of Mr. Horne to deter me from doing signal justice to a man, who, I confess, has *grown upon my esteem*. As for the common, sordid views of avarice, or any purpose of vulgar ambition, I question whether the applause of Junius would be of service to Lord Chatham. My vote will

whose only ambition is the wish to live and die in your confidence and esteem. Change of air was

hardly recommend him to an increase of his pension, or to a seat in the cabinet; but if his ambition be upon a level with his understanding; if he judges of what is truly honourable for himself, with the same superior genius which animates and directs him to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision, even the pen of Junius shall contribute to reward him. Recorded honours shall gather round his monument, and thicken over him. It is a solid fabric, and will support the laurels that adorn it. I am not conversant in the language of panegyric. These praises are extorted from me; but they will wear well, for they have been dearly earned.”—Vol. ii. p. 310.

As the name of Sir Philip Francis has, in the preceding pages, been introduced in connection with that of this distinguished writer, it may not be improper, in this place, to show that Sir Philip’s opinion of Lord Chatham was in exact accordance with that of Junius. In a speech made in the House of Commons in February, 1787, he said, “In the early part of my life, I had the good fortune to hold a place very inconsiderable in itself, but immediately under the Earl of Chatham. He descended from his station to take notice of mine; and he honoured me with repeated marks of his favour and protection. How warmly, in return, I was attached to his person, and how I have been grateful to his memory, they, who know me, know. I admired him as a great, illustrious, faulty, human being, whose character, like all the noblest works of human composition, should be determined by its excellences, not by its defects. I should not have mentioned these circumstances, though I confess I am proud of them, if they did not lead me naturally to the subject immediately in question. In the year 1760, Mr. Secretary Pitt recommended it to the late King to send the present Earl of Kinnoul ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Lisbon. The same recommendation engaged the noble lord to appoint me his secretary.” In a speech made in May, 1791, he again mentions Lord Chatham as “a person whose name he should never recollect without admiration and reverence.” And when the son of Lord Chatham proposed to take the trial by jury out

advised to gain strength, which added to Mr. Brown's summons, who really is exerting himself,

of the Indian system of judicature, Sir Philip said, "If a British House of Commons can on any terms consent, in any instance, to abolish a trial by jury, and if the people at large are insensible of the danger of such a precedent, individuals who have done their duty must submit to their share in the mischief which they could not prevent. I fear the temper and character of the nation are changed. Though I am not an old man, I can remember the time, when an attempt of this nature would have thrown the whole kingdom into a flame.* Had it been when a great man, who is now no more, had a seat in this House, he would have started from the bed of sickness, he would have solicited some friendly hand to deposit him on this floor, and from this station with a monarch's voice would have called the kingdom to arms to oppose it. But he is dead, and has left nothing in this world that resembles him. He is dead; and the sense, and honour, and character, and understanding of the nation, are dead with him."†

Sir Philip Francis, though a warm advocate for shortening the duration of parliaments, was, with Lord Chatham and Junius, a decided enemy to *individual representation*. Having, so far back as the year 1797, been represented by Mr. Burke, in his Letter to the Duke of Portland, as "leaning to representation of the people by the head," he sent, on Thursday the 17thth of December 1818, *five days before his death*, to the editor of The Parliamentary History, and obtained from him a promise, that a letter which he had written in answer to the said charge should be given in the then forthcoming volume, as it related to a subject upon which he was most anxious that his public character should hereafter stand on the right ground. The request was complied with; and the letter, with the following brief introduction, probably the last effort of his pen, will be found prefixed to the thirty-fourth volume of that work:—"Sir Philip

* "That tax upon America, which has since *thrown the whole continent into a flame*." — JUNIUS, vol. iii. p. 185.

† "This brilliant eulogium on one of the noblest of men is in a style worthy of the subject — 'the highest style of Junius,' — and it is as like him in sentiment as in style." — *Junius Identified*, p. 99.

brought me for two days to this place, which he will much improve. ⁽¹⁾ He talks of calling upon your Lordship to-morrow: he is full of zeal and projects for Lord Bute on his return: amongst the foremost, is a plan of union with your Lordship. His wish seems to lead him to persuade me to promote this undertaking; but after replying, that Lord Bute and his friends might some years ago have found proper protection from your Lordship, had they confided, I declined ever again becoming a negotiator. Ill able to write as I really am, this seemed proper for me to notify. That a shiness

Francis's constitutional principles and uniform conduct in parliament are sufficiently known in the present times. The Parliamentary History contains ample evidence of both. On a particular subject, he has been misrepresented by a person, whose authority is likely to have weight with many, and whose writings will certainly be preserved in libraries. A fugitive answer in a newspaper, to a charge so authorised and so prepared for preservation, though sufficient at the moment, would leave Sir Philip's reputation unprotected hereafter. The editor therefore thinks, that he contributes to the administration of moral justice among men, by recording the following Paper; with no observation, but that it was published several months before Mr. Burke's death."

(¹) Lancelot Brown, Esq. eminent for his taste and skill in laying out gardens and pleasure grounds; better known by the name of "Capability Brown," from his frequent use of that word, in reference to the sites submitted to his arrangement. In the preceding year, he had served the office of high sheriff for the county of Huntingdon; which county his son afterwards represented in parliament. It has been said of him, that he was "not only an able artist, but an honest man; for that on being solicited by the King to improve the grounds at Hampton Court, he declined the hopeless task, out of respect to himself and his profession."

has existed between St. James's and Carlton House, but is now set right, is confirmed from his and other quarters.

To-day's letters say, that Lord Suffolk takes the seals of Lord Halifax's office, and, that after much persuasion from Mackenzie and Dyson, the Duke of Grafton will be privy seal. Let me entreat your Lordship to believe me your ever obliged, affectionate, and faithful friend and servant,

JOHN CALCRAFT. (1)

(1) The changes in the ministry, which took place in consequence of the death of the Earl of Halifax, secretary of state for the northern department, are thus noticed by Mr. Gerard Hamilton in letters to Mr. Calcraft:—"Tuesday night, June 11. Thurlow told me, that Weymouth was to be privy-seal, and Suffolk secretary of state. It is Suffolk likewise who has made a point of Lord Hyde being chancellor of the duchy. He has it without any additional salary, and exactly upon the same terms that Strange held it."—"Thursday, June 13. I thought when Thurlow and Sir Fletcher both told me, that Weymouth was privy-seal, I had tolerable good authority for it. The truth is, they thought so too. It had been offered to the Duke of Grafton; who declined it, and then changed his mind. The language of the Bedfords is abusive of the Duke of Grafton for taking it. My best intelligence, and I think it extremely good, is, that Lord Bute does not approve much of the present ministry; but that whatever may be his wishes, it will be found he has not power to alter it, and that the Bedfords are the favourites of the court. Lord North has got Bushy Park in his wife's name, that it may not vacate his seat; but only during pleasure. Lord Hyde is imploring; and I am told will succeed in having the salary of the chancellor of the duchy augmented to the old amount."—"Friday, June 14. The Duke of Grafton made it the condition of his taking the privy-seal, that he should not attend the cabinet."

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO DR. ADDINGTON. ⁽¹⁾

[From the original in the possession of Viscount Sidmouth.]

Burton Pynsent, August 1, 1771.

THE share I take, together with Lady Chatham, in every event which materially interests the happiness of you and yours, is too sincere to allow me to remain silent with regard to the marriage of Miss Addington. ⁽²⁾ Accept, dear Sir, the united felicitations of all your friends here on the occasion, and the truest wishes, that all happiness and lasting health may be the portion of the new-joined pair, as well as of all your family. You will be so good as to present, in our names, a large share of these compliments and good wishes to Mrs. Addington.

We begin now — this happy business being completed — to look out wistfully for you in the west, and hope to have the satisfaction of embracing you here as you pass in perfect health, and with all your joy about you. I say nothing more of the article

(1) This eminent physician was educated at Trinity College, Oxford; where he proceeded M.A. in May, 1740, M.B. in February, 1740–1, and M.D. in January, 1744. He was elected a fellow of the royal college of physicians in 1756, and died in March, 1790; at which time his eldest son Henry, now Viscount Sidmouth, was Speaker of the House of Commons. It will have been seen, that he was, for many years, the physician and confidential friend of Lord Chatham.

(2) Eleanor, second daughter of Dr. Addington, married the same day on which this letter was written to James Sutton, of New Park, Esq., at that time member for Devizes.

of the health of this place, than that mine is better than it has been these twenty years. I wish I could say of our dear William, that he is mended since you saw him ; but he is wan, and extremely lean ; in other respects not ill. Lady Chatham and all the rest perfectly well. I am, with the truest esteem and consideration, my dear Sir,

Your faithful and
affectionate friend,

CHATHAM.

DR. ADDINGTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Clifford Street, August 8, 1771.

MY LORD,

WE are infinitely obliged to your Lordship and Lady Chatham for the honour you have done us in sending such kind and friendly congratulations on the marriage of our daughter. It is, indeed, a very pleasing event ; and I cannot but look upon it as an addition to the many other blessings which the goodness of Providence has bestowed on me and mine. But great as my joy is upon this occasion, it is not greater than I felt, when I saw it under your own hand, that your Lordship's health is better at this time, than it has been these twenty years. May it long continue so ! and may you not begin to grow old, till you have restored happiness to the King and kingdom, and taught your sons how to keep them happy ! I trust, Master William (please God, he

lives and has his health) will have no small share in this work.

We join in compliments and perpetual good wishes to her Ladyship, and to you and all your family. I am, my Lord,

Your most obliged, faithful, and

affectionate humble servant,

ANTHONY ADDINGTON.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Burton Pynsent, September 22, 1771.

MY DEAR SIR,

AFTER long keeping a wishful look-out for your arrival, it is with great pleasure that I receive the next best satisfaction to that of seeing you, the knowing that you are well; and at the same time, that the chance of embracing you here is not to be despaired of. Our journey westward was, in every way, most pleasing, the loss of your intended visit excepted. The honours I received at Exeter were, indeed, flattering, as they were unsought, and accompanied with genuine marks of cordiality from a city of that importance. We were charmed with the kind of beauties abounding at Boconnoc⁽¹⁾, all of them mild and full of repose, though not wanting spirit: hill, dale, wood and water, happily

(¹) The seat of his nephew Mr. Thomas Pitt, afterwards Lord Camelford. See Vol. I., p. 180.

mingled. I contented myself, without beholding the wonders of Mount Edgcumbe.⁽¹⁾ The gout attacked me not long after my return, and is now retiring, after a moderate and salutary penance. I fear, however, it is not a receipt in full for the year.

I intend to prolong my stay at this place : between farming, hunting, and planting now beginning, we are all, young and old, highly pleased, and find our day not long enough. Whether we shall, by and by, find the evenings too long, we purpose to put to the trial. The world (I mean eastward) is indeed unintelligible. Lord Lyttelton was so good as to give us a day here, in his return from Mount Edgcumbe ; and all Stowe, I learn, honoured the race at Wakefield Lodge.⁽²⁾ These appearances puzzle West-Saxon understandings, and put an end to any hope for the public : but without hope, there is a thing called *duty* ; and room enough left for the philosophy of opposition, though very little for activity. I need not add how happy I shall be to see one whose public zeal never varies, and whose private friendship is as constant as it is kind.

Your very affectionate

CHATHAM.

(1) The seat of Lord Edgcumbe.

(2) A residence of the Duke of Grafton. In a letter to Almon, of the 28th, Mr. Calcraft asks, "Is it true, that Lord Temple and his family were at Wakefield Lodge races?"

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO DR. ADDINGTON.⁽¹⁾

[From the original in the possession of Viscount Sidmouth.]

Burton Pynsent, November 23, 1771.

DEAR SIR,

I EMBRACE with particular pleasure Lady Chatham's deputation, in acknowledging the favour of your very obliging letter to her. A small cold occasions her committing the pen to my hand; which at present seconds well my inclination to take it up, on such an occasion as writing to you. All your friends here, the flock of your care, are

(¹) This letter, obligingly communicated by Viscount Sidmouth, is the one especially alluded to in the following passage of Sir Walter Scott's *Diary*:—"May 24, 1828. This day dined at Richmond Park with Lord Sidmouth. Before dinner his Lordship showed me letters which passed between his father, Dr. Addington, and the great Lord Chatham. There was much of that familiar friendship which arises, and must arise, between an invalid, the head of an invalid family, and their medical adviser, supposing the last to be a wise and well bred man. The character of Lord Chatham's handwriting is strong and bold, and his expressions short and manly. There are intimations of his partiality for William, whose health seems to have been precarious during boyhood. He talks of William imitating him in all he did, and calling for ale because his father was recommended to drink it. 'If I should smoke,' he said, 'William would instantly call for a pipe;' and he wisely infers, 'I must take care what I do.' The letters of the late William Pitt are of great curiosity; but as, like all real letters of business, they only *allude* to matters with which his correspondent is well acquainted, and do not enter into details, they would require an ample commentary. I hope Lord Sidmouth will supply this, and have urged it as much as I can. I think, though I hate letters and abominate interference, I will write to him on this subject."—See Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, second edition, vol. ix.

truly sensible of the kind attention of the good shepherd. Our dear William has held out well, on the whole. Pitt lives much abroad, and grows strong : the hounds and the gun are great delights, without prejudice to literary pursuits. I sometimes follow him after a hare, *longo sed proximus intervallo*. My last fit of the gout left me, as it had visited me, very kindly. I am many hours every day in the field, and as I live like a farmer abroad, I return home and eat like one. I rejoice that parliament meets so late ; for if I must go thither I shall be reduced

— “ *discedere tristem
Quandocunque trahunt invisa negotia Romam.* ”

Your obliging inquiries justify all details about health and regimen. Ale, then, goes on admirably, and agrees perfectly ; my reverence for it, too, is increased, having just read, in the manners of our remotest Celtic ancestors, much of its antiquity and invigorating qualities. The boys all long for ale, seeing papa drink it ; but we do not try such an experiment. Such is the force of example, that I find I must watch myself in all I do, for fear of misleading : if your friend William saw me smoke, he would certainly call for a pipe.

After so much of me and mine, it is more than time to express how truly we interest ourselves for you. I hope the returning labours of the winter will not rob you of a little of your summer health. Paper fails, and leaves only room to add, that I am,

Dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Burton Pynsent.

[January 10, 1772.]

MY DEAR LORD,

OUR good friends in Harley Street have given me the glad tiding of your Lordship's arrival in health, and imparted your very kind and flattering inquiries about your humble servant here. I understand your Lordship is at Bowood; to which place I address this letter, and with it every sincere and warm wish, that a scene so interesting may fill your heart with solid comfort, and the happiness of finding the dear young inhabitants in perfect health. I should have been happy to be the bearer of these sentiments; and but for some sensations which begin to remind me of a winter account of gout to be balanced after a summer of more health than I have known these twenty years, I meant to have done myself the honour of embracing your Lordship at Bowood, and joining the most sincere welcomes of your happy return to your penates.

With regard to that larger home, our country, that house so fatally divided against itself, little presents itself to view but infatuation and degeneracy. The times seem to me unsusceptible of system and impatient of counsel—that stale thing, which the grey-headed are always too fond of offering, and the active sometimes too unwilling to

receive. This unregarded mite, however, being all I have to contribute, I do not see that the smallest good can result to the public from my coming up to the meeting of parliament. A headlong, self-willed spirit has sunk the City into nothing⁽¹⁾: attempting powers it has no colour of right to, it has lost the weight to which it is entitled. In another quarter, the narrow genius of old-corps' connection has weakened Whiggism, and rendered national union on revolution principles impossible; and what but such an union can have any chance to withstand the present corruption?

In this deplorable conjuncture, it is a species of happiness to be resolved what *not* to do. Negative plans are, I confess, not very brilliant, and in their nature slow; but time, the great discoverer of truth, seldom fails to vindicate the real lovers of their country. I find my little sermon is leading me to the bottom of my paper. I will therefore hasten to assure you only of the immutable sentiments of esteem and respect, with which I remain ever, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most affectionate friend, and obedient humble servant,

CHATHAM.

(¹) During the summer, the public meetings in the city had been scenes of hostility, clamour, and reerimination. It was expected, that Alderman Oliver would have been chosen sheriff; but Wilkes having announced himself as his coadjutor, the former stated his determination not to serve with him. Notwithstanding the intimation, Wilkes offered himself as a candidate, and he and Alderman Bull were returned by a large majority.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.Bowood Park, January 12, 1772.
Sunday noon.

MY DEAR LORD,

I WAS very impatient, as soon as I arrived from abroad, to inquire after your Lordship, Lady Chatham, and the rest of your Lordship's family. Had I been certain of your motions, I should have been happy to have waited upon you in Somersetshire. I have hurried down here to see my children; whose acknowledgments I must beg to make for your Lordship's notice of them, and in whom I find, indeed, unspeakable comfort.

It gives me great concern to find the general account of Opposition confirmed by your Lordship. It does no honour to the principal persons concerned, whose views may be supposed to have contributed to the present reduced state of things, and must exclude all hope for the public. I feel the more, because I had hoped that, from the success already experienced of the efforts of Opposition, when joined to those of the public, great and substantial improvements might still be obtained, the field being large, from year to year to the constitution. I should have been particularly happy in such a plan; who, your Lordship knows, do not look to office for myself; and I do assure your Lordship, do not for any person with whom I stand connected upon the large and public line of well

wishing to the constitution. But a secret influence appears to have crept into Opposition, too much resembling, in its motives and its means, that so much complained of at St. James's ; for nature, in these days, seems to delight in creating every thing double.

In this situation, I should be most desirous, did the time and distance admit of it, to have your Lordship's advice, how to direct the conduct of an insignificant individual, wishful, on the one hand, to act the unaffected, natural part of one who has in no sort contributed to the present impracticability, and whose public sentiments are liable to suffer no change ; and on the other, not to break into any negative plans deemed prudent by one whose judgment has so much weight as your Lordship's always has with me. I should not be sorry also to have an opportunity, holding myself, as I really do, accountable to the public for every part of my public and private conduct, and never having had recourse to any anonymous justification, to declare how I stand, and have stood, in regard to the city.

I propose setting out for London on Friday, unless any further communication should appear necessary to your Lordship : in which case, I beg you will make no ceremony in signifying to me your commands ; for no one is capable of taking a more sincere part in whatever regards your Lordship, than your Lordship's

Most obliged, and most obedient,

humble servant,

SHELBURNE.

JUNIUS TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM. (1)

[From the original in his handwriting.]

(Most secret.)

London, 14th January, 1772.

MY LORD,

CONFIDING implicitly in your Lordship's honour,
I take the liberty of submitting to you the enclosed

(1) This letter was forwarded to Lord Chatham at Burton Pynsent, with proof sheets of those addressed to Lord Chief Justice Mansfield and Lord Camden, and which were about to appear in the Public Advertiser. They were published on the 21st of January, and were the last efforts of this celebrated writer, under the signature of JUNIUS. The following private notes to Mr. H. S. Woodfall have reference to this subject:—

“*January 6, 1772.*

“I have a thing to mention to you in great confidence. I expect your assistance, and rely upon your secrecy. There is a long paper ready for publication, but which must not appear until the morning of the meeting of parliament, nor be announced in any shape whatsoever. Much depends upon its appearing unexpectedly. If you receive it on the 8th or 9th instant, can you in a day or two have it composed, and two proof sheets struck off and sent me; and can you keep the press standing ready for the Public Advertiser of the 21st, and can all this be done with such secrecy that none of your people shall know what is going forward, except the composer, and can you rely on *his* fidelity? Consider of it, and if it be possible, say YES, in your paper to-morrow. I think it will take four full columns at the least, but I undertake that it shall sell. It is essential that I should have a proof sheet, and correct it myself.”

“*Saturday, January 11, 1772.*

“Your failing to send me the proofs, as you engaged to do, disappoints and distresses me extremely. It is not merely to correct the press (though even that is of consequence),

paper, before it be given to the public. It is to appear on the morning of the meeting of parliament. Lord Mansfield flatters himself, that I have dropped all thoughts of attacking him, and I would give him as little time as possible to concert his measures with the ministry. The address to Lord Camden will be accounted for, when I say, that the nation in general are not quite so secure of *his* firmness as they are of Lord Chatham.

but for another most *material purpose*.* This will be entirely defeated, if you do not let me have the two proofs on Monday morning. The paper itself is, in *my* opinion, of the highest style of JUNIUS, and cannot fail to sell. My reason for not announcing it was, that the party might have no time to concert his measures with the ministry. But, upon reflection, I think it may answer better (in order to excite attention) to advertise it the day before, JUNIUS to Lord Chief Justice Mansfield to-morrow. Quoting from memory, I have made a mistake about Blackstone, where I say *that he confines the power to the court, and does not extend it to the judges separately*. Those lines must be omitted.† The rest is right. If you have any regard for me, or for the cause, let nothing hinder your sending the proofs on Monday."

"January 16, 1772.

"I return you the proof, with the errata, which you will be so good as to correct carefully. I have the greatest reason to be pleased with your care and attention, and wish it were in my power to render you some essential service. Announce it on Monday." — *Junius*, vol. i. p. 243.

* The editor of Woodfall's *Junius* here remarks, — "He seems to allude to a promise, or expectation, of legal assistance from some friendly quarter."

† In the proofs, now before us, which are corrected by *Junius*, this passage is erased. It may be added, that the Greek δ is used for the sign of deletion, instead of the more usual one of the Greek ϵ . This trifling distinction would hardly be worth alluding to, did it not afford another instance of agreement with Sir Philip Francis, whose corrections for the press were made in a similar manner. — See *Junius Identified*, p. 377.

I am so clearly satisfied that Lord Mansfield has done an act not warranted by law, and that the inclosed argument is not to be answered (besides that I find the lawyers concur with me), that I am inclined to expect he may himself acknowledge it as an oversight, and endeavour to whittle it away to nothing. For this possible event, I would wish your Lordship and the Duke of Richmond to be prepared to take down his words, and thereupon to move for committing him to the Tower. I hope that proper steps will also be taken in the House of Commons. If he makes no confession of his guilt, but attempts to defend himself by any legal argument, I then submit it to your Lordship, whether it might not be proper to put the following questions to the judges. In fact, they answer themselves ; but it will embarrass the ministry, and ruin the character which Mansfield pretends to, if the House should put a direct negative upon the motion.

- 1°. “ Whether, according to the true meaning and intendment of the Laws of England, relative to bail for criminal offences, a person positively charged with felony, — taken *in flagranti delicto*, — with the *mainœuvre*, and not making any defence, nor offering any evidence to induce a doubt whether he be guilty or innocent, — is *bailable* or *not bailable* ?
- 2°. “ Whether the power, exercised by the judges of the Court of King’s Bench, of bailing for offences, not bailable by a justice of peace,

be an absolute power, of mere will and pleasure in the judge,—or a discretionary power, regulated and governed, in the application of it, by the true meaning and intendment of the law relative to bail ? ”

Lord Mansfield’s constant endeavour to misinterpret the laws of England is a sufficient general ground of impeachment. The specific instances may be taken from his doctrine concerning libels,—the Grosvenor cause ;—his pleading Mr. De Grey’s defence upon the bench, when he said, *idem fecerunt alii, et multi et boni* ;—his suffering an affidavit to be read, in *the King against Blair*, tending to inflame the court against the defendant when he was brought up to receive sentence ;—his direction to the jury, in the cause of Ansell, by which he admitted parol evidence against a written agreement, and in consequence of which the Court of Common Pleas granted a new trial ; and, lastly, his partial and wicked motives for bailing Eyre. ⁽¹⁾

(1) A copy of Eyre’s commitment accompanied this letter, which it appears had been obtained from Wilkes ; to whom Junius, on the 6th of November thus wrote :—“ I entreat you to procure for me copies of the informations against Eyre before the Lord Mayor. I presume they were taken in writing. If not, I beg you will favour me with the most exact account of the substance of them, and any observations of your own that you think material. If I am right in my facts, I answer for my law, and mean to attack Lord Mansfield as soon as possible.” To which, on the same day, Wilkes replies,—“ I do not delay a moment giving you the information you wish. I enclose a copy of Eyre’s commitment. Nothing else in this business has been reduced to writing,” &c. &c. On the 9th, Junius acknowledges the receipt of the document :—“ I am much obliged to

There are some material circumstances relative to this last, which I thought it right to reserve for your Lordship alone.

It will appear by the evidence of the gaoler and the city solicitor's clerk, that Lord Mansfield refused to hear the return read, and at first ordered Eyre to be bound only in 200*l.* with two sureties, until his clerk, Mr. Platt, proposed 300*l.* with three sureties. Mr. King, clerk to the city solicitor, was never asked for his consent, nor did he ever give any. From these facts, I conclude, either that he bailed, without knowing the cause of commitment; or, which is highly probable, that he knew it extrajudicially from the Scotchmen, and was ashamed to have the return read.

I will not presume to trouble your Lordship with any assurances, however sincere, of my respect and esteem for your character, and admiration of your abilities. Retired and unknown, I live in the shade, and have only a speculative ambition. In the warmth of my imagination, I sometimes conceive, that, when Junius exerts his utmost faculties in the service of his country, he approaches in theory to that exalted character, which Lord Chatham alone fills up, and uniformly supports in action.

JUNIUS. ⁽¹⁾

you for your information about Eyre. The facts are as I understood them; and, with the blessing of God, I will pull Mansfield to the ground." — *Junius*, vol. i. p. 329.

(¹) In the last number of the *Edinburgh Review* (Oct. 1839), there appears the following passage, which has some bearing on the preceding note:—"When, in 1817, Mr. Brougham stated his strong opinion, in the House of Commons, on Wilkes's cha-

LORD LYTTTELTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Hill Street, February 20, 1772.

MY DEAR LORD,

I GIVE you a thousand thanks for your very kind felicitations on the return of my son, who appears

racter, and the shame that his popularity brought on the people of England for a time, Mr. Wilberforce expressed his thanks to him and confirmed his statements: Mr. Canning, however, observed, that Wilkes was by no means a singular instance of demagogues not being respectable, and added,

‘ He ’s Knight o’ th’ shire, and represents them all; ’

which is an exaggerated view certainly. Sir Philip Francis, the morning after, remonstrated strongly, in company of other friends, with Mr. Brougham, upon his saying any thing in disparagement of a man run down by the Court: he regarded the offence as greatly aggravated by the praise which had been given to Lord Mansfield, against whom he inveighed bitterly. This tone, so precisely that of Junius upon both subjects, was much remarked at the time.” To the point of *identity* here instanced, may be added the following: —On the 10th of January, 1772, *Junius* announced, in the Public Advertiser, that Mr. D’Oyley had resigned his post of under secretary at war; and that, till a proper person belonging to the junto could be spared, Mr. Bradshaw was to be stationed in the war office. On the 12th, Mr. Calcraft wrote to Almon, —“ If you put in paragraphs, put that *Mr. Francis* is appointed deputy secretary at war. It will tease the worthy Secretary, and oblige me:” and again, on the 18th, —“ I knew Francis was not deputy, but wished him to be so, and to cram the newspapers with paragraphs, that he was so; for he is very deserving.” On the 25th, *Junius* informs Woodfall, that “ the ——— Barrington has just appointed Chamier, a French broker, his deputy, for no reason but his relationship to Bradshaw.” On the 20th of March, *Mr. Francis* was removed from his situation in the war office: and, on the same day, Mr. Calcraft added a codicil to his will, bequeathing him the sum of one thousand pounds, and an annuity of two hundred and fifty pounds for life to Mrs. Francis. On

to be returned, not only to me, but to a rational way of thinking and a dutiful conduct, in which, if he perseveres, it will gild with some joy the evening of my life. I most sincerely rejoice that your Lordship's is brightened with so many fair stars as I saw shining round you when I was at Burton Pynsent; a place, which, in such company, I do not wonder you love at all seasons of the year. Your late fit of the gout will, I hope, secure to you a long continuance of good health, and make you as strong at your plough as Cincinnatus, or Curius, ever was at his, till your country calls you from it to be its dictator.

I am charmed with your Verses, which I have

the 23d of March, *Junius*, under the signature of "Veteran," says, "I desire you will inform the public, that the worthy Lord Barrington, not contented with having driven Mr. D'Oyley out of the war office, has at last contrived to expel *Mr. Francis*." In May, *Junius* dropped all correspondence, public and private, with Woodfall, until January, 1773. In May, *Mr. Francis* left England, on a continental tour; from which he returned early in January, 1773; on the 19th of which month appeared the last private letter of *Junius* to Woodfall. Mr. Francis was shortly after appointed a member of the supreme council in Bengal, with a salary of ten thousand a year; and, in the spring of 1774, sailed for India. In Sir Philip Francis's copy of Belsham's History of Great Britain, vol. v. p. 298., sold at Evans's in February, 1838, there appears the following manuscript note:— "*I wrote this speech for Lord Mansfield, as well as all those of Lord Chatham on the Middlesex Election. P. F.*" By reference to Vol. II. p. 420. of the present work, it will be seen, that *Junius* reported the same speeches. As the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis has, since the appearance of "*Junius Identified*," become an object of curiosity, in comparison with that of the upright, disguised hand of *Junius*, fac-similes of both, as connected with the Correspondence of Lord Chatham, are given in this volume.

sent to Garrick⁽¹⁾; who will answer them for himself. I will only say about them, that it would have been thought unconscionable in Cicero, if he had made verses as well as Catullus or Horace. It is usurpation in you to go out of your province, and, because you do not rule the state, assume a dominion over Mount Parnassus! However, I forgive you, though I think you are partly a trespasser on my ground; and Garrick will forgive you for encroaching upon his, in consideration of your being out of business at present, and as we know it is your destiny always to excel in some way or other. Believe me ever, with the highest regard and respect,

Your Lordship's, &c.

LYTTTELTON.

(¹) While on a visit at Mount Edgcombe, Garrick received the following poetical Invitation from Lord Chatham to visit Burton Pynsent:—

“Leave, Garrick, the rich landscape, proudly gay,
Docks, forts, and navies, bright’ning all the bay:
To my plain roof repair, primeval seat!
Yet there no wonders your quick eye can meet;
Save, should you deem it wonderful to find,
Ambition cured, and an unpassion’d mind;
A statesman without power, and without gall,
Hating no courtiers, happier than them all;
Bow’d to no yoke, nor crouching for applause;
Vot’ry alone to freedom, and the laws.
Herds, flocks, and smiling Ceres deck our plain,
And, interspersed, an heart-enlivening train
Of sportive children frolic o’er the green;
Meantime pure love looks on, and consecrates the scene.
Come, then, immortal spirit of the stage,
Great nature’s proxy, glass of ev’ry age!
Come, taste the simple life of patriarchs old,
Who, rich in rural peace, ne’er thought of pomp or gold.”

DAVID GARRICK, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Hampton, February 26, 1772.

MY LORD,

It has been said, that there is a charm in Verses to cure many disorders. I was weak, and slowly recovering from a fit of the stone, when Lord Lyttelton sent me your Lordship's favour ; I am now well, and in the highest spirits : the only fear at present is, lest, from the peculiar force of the charm, they should rise beyond their proper pitch, and affect me another way. Indeed, my Lord, you have put my wits to a very severe trial, and it is some small compliment to them, that my vanity has not upset them. The only excuse I can possibly make for not sooner acknowledging the great honour conferred upon me is, that I did not find my mind sufficiently settled to appear before your Lordship. Though I am thoroughly humbled as a poet, and not a little as an actor, (more inquiries being made after the Verses addressed to me, than after *Lear* or *Macbeth*,) yet still I think myself more obliged and honoured than I have words to express. Even you, my Lord, cannot exert a greater spirit of disinterestedness and benevolence than you have done in my favour ; for it is as impossible for your Lordship to receive any additional fame by writing the best verses, as it is for me not to derive from them every honour and importance, which my vanity or my ambition could wish for. I am, my Lord, &c.

D. GARRICK.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

London, March 18, 1772.

MY DEAR LORD,

I IMAGINE there has been an infinity of intrigue stirring within the court for some time past — a great deal relative to the bill now depending to regulate the marriages of the royal family ; but the anecdotes which have transpired or been whispered are of so trifling or so dark a nature, as to merit very little attention upon the spot, much less committing to paper. One thing remarkable is, that the King has not a servant in the line of business in either House, except the Chief Justice of the King's Bench can be called so, who will own the bill, or who has refrained from every public insinuation against it, as much as can come from those who vote for it, from considerations declared to be of another nature.⁽¹⁾

But the immediate occasion of my troubling your Lordship is that Dr. Price, whose books I some

(¹) In October, 1771, the Duke of Cumberland privately married Lady Anne Luttrell, widow of Christopher Horton, Esq., and daughter of Lord Irnham, afterwards Earl of Carhampton. When the match was publicly announced, the King forbid them the court. The displeasure shown by his Majesty did not, however, deter the Duke of Gloucester, in the ensuing spring, from avowing as his consort the Countess Dowager of Waldegrave, whom he had privately married in April, 1766. In consequence of what had taken place, a message from the King was sent to both Houses on the 26th of February, stating that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family had ever belonged to the kings of this realm, as a matter of public concern, and recommend-

time since sent you, has desired to know of me, when you would be in town ; it being the intention of the Presbyterian clergy to wait on you, to communicate their intention of applying to parliament for relief in matter of Subscription. This matter has been in agitation some time since ; but it was their intention to have deferred it till the next session, if some of their brethren who receive the royal bounty money had not thought it their duty to acquaint the treasury of it. Mr. Onslow upon this sent to desire that he might have the honour of bringing in their bill⁽¹⁾, and to acquaint them of the concurrence of Lord North, Lord Mansfield, and a warm support from Elliot, Dyson, &c. The Bishops, however, have since been consulted, who

ing parliament to take into its consideration the expediency of supplying the defect of the laws by some new provision, more effectually to guard the descendants of George the Second from marrying without the consent of his Majesty, his heirs, and successors. A bill was, in consequence, brought into the House of Lords, by which it was declared, that none of the royal family, being under the age of twenty-five years, should marry without the King's consent ; after attaining that age they were at liberty, in case of the King's refusal, to apply to the privy council, by announcing the name of the person they were desirous to espouse, and if, within a year, neither House of Parliament should address the King against it, the marriage might be legally solemnized ; but all persons assisting in, or knowing of an intention in any of the royal family to marry without fulfilling these ceremonies, and not disclosing it, should incur the penalties of a premunire.

(1) The bill, which was entitled "a Bill for the further Relief of his Majesty's Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England," was brought into the House of Commons on the 3d of April, and passed with very little opposition ; the numbers on the second reading being seventy against nine. In the House of Lords, however, it met with a different fate.

have offered some objections; and to obviate them, the Dissenters have offered to sign a subscription, declaring the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to contain the mind and will of God, and a rule of faith and practice. This goes beyond the opinion of several of their body, who wished to have stood on Mr. Locke's general principles of toleration; at the same time that the Bishops have not given any answer to it. They are, however, determined to bring in their Bill, and are likely to meet with support from many of all sides, at least in the House of Commons.

There is a talk in the city among men of property about associations in regard to the national debt, occasioned by the alarm which Dr. Price's pamphlet⁽¹⁾ has spread; but as yet it is difficult to say whether they will come to any thing. The reports about peace and war upon the Continent are of the most contradictory kind. I have the honour to be, &c.

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO DAVID GARRICK, ESQ.

Burton Pynsent, April 3, 1772.

DEAR SIR,

NOTHING but my hand is guilty in leaving your very obliging letter so long unacknowledged. I now make the earliest use of its returning strength,

⁽¹⁾ The Doctor's celebrated pamphlet, entitled "An Appeal to the Public on the Subject of the National Debt;" upon the principles and calculations contained in which, Mr. Pitt's sinking fund of 1786 was founded.

to express how much I feel your flattering sensibility, upon a small tribute to Genius and universal Talents. As our age owes more to them, for improvement as well as delight, than it is able to pay, I might have it upon my conscience, were I not to bring my mite of praise, towards discharging this favourite branch of the National Debt ; which, however, like the other, must, I foresee, remain to late posterity.

Need I say, what charms the Verses from Mount Edgcumbe ⁽¹⁾ have for all here ; or that the sentiment which dictated them makes me justly vain ?

⁽¹⁾ To Lord Chatham's Verses, Mr. Garrick returned the following Answer : —

“ When Peleus' son, untaught to yield,
Wrathful forsook the hostile field,
His breast still warm with heav'nly fire,
He tun'd the lay, and swept the lyre.

“ So Chatham, whose exalted soul
Pervaded and inspired the whole,
Where far, by martial glory led,
Britain her sails and banners spread,
Retires (though wisdom's God dissuades),
And seeks repose in rural shades.
Yet thither comes the God confess'd ;
Celestial form ! a well-known guest.

“ Nor slow he moves with solemn air,
Nor on his brow hangs pensive care ;
Nor in his hand th' historic page
Give lessons to experienced age,
As when in vengeful ire he rose,
And plann'd the fate of Britain's foes,
While the wing'd hours obedient stand,
And instant speed the dread command.

“ Cheerful he came, all blithe and gay,
Fair blooming like the son of May ;
Adown his radiant shoulder hung
A harp, by all the Muses strung ;
Smiling he to his friend resign'd
This soother of the human mind.”

You have kindly settled upon me a lasting species of property I never dreamed of, in that enchanting place : a far more able conveyancer than any in Chancery Lane ; for, instead of laboriously perplexing rights, you, by a few happy lines, at once both create the title and fix the possession.

Accept, my dear Sir, many sincere wishes, that you may hear no more of that cruel kinsman to the gout, by which you have been so lately visited, and believe me, with all esteem and regard, your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELburne.

Burton Pynsent, April 3, 1772.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE impossibility of using my hand has alone prevented me from returning your Lordship many sincere thanks for the honour of your most obliging letter. The situation of the political world appears to me, in this distant point of view, a strange one. The doctrine of the Royal Marriage bill is certainly new-fangled and impudent, and the extent of the powers given wanton and tyrannical.⁽¹⁾ And yet I

(¹) In the House of Lords, the bill was strongly opposed in all its stages ; particularly by the Marquis of Rockingham, on the supposition, that the royal family might in time become so extensive, as to include many thousand individuals ; and also by Lord Camden, who deprecated the annulling of a marriage between persons of mature age. In the House of Commons,

confess that to see a *public* which slept so quietly upon the violation of electors' rights and the tyranny of the House of Commons, awake into spirit and activity about abridging the facility of princely nuptials, surprised me not a little. This is straining at a gnat after swallowing the camel. However, I rejoice that the conscientious stomach has begun to work. Who knows but the foul feeder may throw up the camel too, and England enjoy its own again? The little intrigues which have swarmed, or may be still busy in court, are as natural as they are fertile and contemptible: they are the flies of business, and may, at most, disquiet a little horses and drivers, but affect not the state-coach.

The matter your Lordship is so good as to mention from Dr. Price is of a respectable nature and from a respectable body. I shall esteem it a great favour if your Lordship will do me the honour

where every part of it was debated with extraordinary vigour, it was passed on the 24th, by a majority of 168 against 115. Mr. Dowdeswell having, in the course of these debates, observed, that "a man, who was by law allowed at eighteen to be fit for governing the realm, might well be supposed capable of choosing and governing a wife," the following squib appeared a few days after, in the daily papers: —

' Quoth Dick to Tom, — ' This act appears
 Absurd, as I'm alive;
 To take the Crown at eighteen years,
 The Wife at twenty-five.
 The myst'ry how shall we explain?
 For sure, as Dowdeswell said,
 Thus early if they're fit to reign,
 They must be fit to wed !'
 Quoth Tom to Dick, — ' Thou art a fool,
 And little know'st of life :
 Alas! 'tis easier far to rule
 A Kingdom than a Wife.'"

to express for me to the Doctor, that I hold myself much honoured by the communication the Presbyterians think of making to me of their wishes and intentions, and that I rejoice sincerely at any further ease to their conscience, which the ministry seem disposed to afford them. *Entre nous*, my dear Lord, I shall rejoice at it, though it gives again the county of Surrey to the treasury.⁽¹⁾

My departure from this place cannot yet be fixed, as good weather and convalescence more advanced must decide the time. I hope to be at Hayes about the 20th of this month, and that I may soon after have the pleasure of embracing your Lordship in good health. I am ever, with most respectful esteem and affection, my dear Lord,

Your most faithful

and obedient humble servant,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Burton Pynsent, Thursday night,
April 9, 1772.

Two long tedious days are over since I saw my love and her dear fellow-travellers, in which the cruel separation is sweetened by nothing but the

⁽¹⁾ Mr. George Onslow was one of the members for Surrey, and a lord of the treasury. In the debate in the House of Commons, he strongly advocated the propriety of granting relief to the Dissenters, in the matter of Subscription.

comfortable and promising state of our two delightful boys. Sleep perfectly good last night without the drops, and little James dreamed of no demons, though our *Contes Arabes* treated horridly of one, the most execrable of the infernal band. I need not tell you they are well, for their charming letters sufficiently speak their health and spirits. I can hardly refrain my admiration of their epistolary genius from talking of them like an old doting daddy. The scornful cousin will think they take after the surer side. I trust that the elder branches have been not without amusement to you, *chemin faisant* ; and that the spirit-stirring air of the capital—like

“Sabæan odours from the spicy shores
Of Araby the blest”—

so cheered and enlivened their imagination, as they approached towards it, that you found them good company. My two small country companions set out admirably, and I am not likely to want discourse, or any thing else, but what Wednesday morning carried away from me.⁽¹⁾ William has done the honours of my efforts in the field not a little beyond the cold matter of fact ; the gentleman's strain of hyperbole has made four hours of two and some minutes. It is true the afternoon is not given up to rest, but, *en revanche*, the night is the better attended by sleep, and poor Lignum

(¹) On the morning of the preceding day, Lady Chatham, with Lord Pitt and her two daughters, set out for Hayes, leaving Lord Chatham and the two younger boys at Burton Pynsent.

complains he cannot wake me by any thing he can say.

Now for the diary of Burton in the smaller families thereof : poultry, peacocks, dogs, horses, galinas, all well, and well-fed, the feathered part from your window. I see the end of my paper before me, and will now only tell my life that I count every moment till I view her loved handwriting, and have the happy assurance that she is well, and the three sweet children. Kiss them for me often, and send as many thoughts hither, as I do to Hayes.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Burton Pynsent, April 11, 1772.

My dearest life will read with joy that the boys go on well. I believe William's *sequestration*, as he learnedly terms it, agrees better with his contemplative constitution than more talk and more romps.⁽¹⁾ Airing, literature, the arts, tea-table, sober whist,

(1) Lady Chatham observes in her reply, "I do not in the least wonder that the style of William's present life agrees with him. It is certainly not better suited to the state of his constitution, than to the fineness of his mind, which makes him enjoy with the highest pleasure what would be above the reach of any other creature of his small age. The young lieutenant may not, perhaps, go quite so deep; but the vanity of being with papa, and the playfulness of papa's laughing conversations with him, must be a perpetual entertainment to his animated, joyous mind."

and lecturing papa for staying out too late, together with the small amusement of devouring a joint of mutton, or so, before I can look about, make up our daily occupations. The sweetener of all this, is, however, the looking forward to Hayes. We never fail to talk of the wished-for journey, and to mark how slowly time creeps till the happy day arrives. Gout still hobbles, not to say creeps. I trust, however, I may be transportable in about a week or ten days at furthest. *Au reste*, health is good. Thus much of me and mine.

Yesterday's post brought an agreeable letter from Colonel Grenville ⁽¹⁾, with the notification, and very polite compliments from my fine old friend Lord Tyrawly on the occasion, with particular compliments from his Lordship to you. A how-do-you call ⁽²⁾ from you to him would please and be

(1) Richard, second son of the right honourable James Grenville, and brother of Lord Glastonbury. In 1774, he was elected member for the town of Buckingham.

(2) Lady Chatham's "how-do-you" call on Lord Tyrawly drew from the veteran the following characteristic note:—"Lord Tyrawly presents his respectful compliments to Lady Chatham, and would have returned his thanks for her obliging card, but he was not up, and it rained so very hard, that the servant who was on horseback could not be detained. Lord Tyrawly is extremely glad to hear her Ladyship is returned to Hayes, and finds by Colonel Grenville it prognosticates the arrival of Lord Chatham, to whom Lord Tyrawly is much obliged for a very fine recruit. Lord Tyrawly is in good health, but so blind as to be forced to employ another hand to write, so deaf as not to hear half the nonsense said near him, and so simple of understanding, as not to be able to conceal his own." Lord Tyrawly was at this time in his eighty-second year. He died in the following year.

proper. Judge of my impatience for Tilly's return from Somerton. If he brings no letter from my love (though perhaps impossible that there should be any) he is doomed to be hanged up like Giaffa, for disappointing the wish of his master's heart. Adieu, till next occasion.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Bowood Park, April 13, 1772.

MY DEAR LORD,

YOUR Lordship's letter of the 3d instant, directed to London, has found me here. I am happy to hear of your intention of coming to Hayes by the 20th, though you will not find in London a very animated public. The people are in a trance about the Middlesex election. Nothing but the manner of carrying through that registered edict called the Royal Act—still more impudent than the terms of it—could have excited feeling on that subject, and as it was, it was confined to within doors.⁽¹⁾ The East India affairs⁽²⁾, beaten as that subject

(1) During the debates in the House of Commons, on the Royal Marriage bill, none but members were allowed to be present; though many of the peers made earnest application for admittance.

(2) On the 30th of March, Mr. Sullivan, deputy-chairman of the East India Company, moved, in the House of Commons, for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the affairs of the Company's servants and concerns in India. The object

is, do not catch the active public, who discover neither indignation at the conduct of persons there, nor anxiety to secure the object ; while every man of every party acknowledges a blow to be impending in that part of the world, which must shake to its foundation the revenue, commerce, manufactures, and property of this. On the other side, there appears neither system nor confidence ; but men, like measures, are had from day to day.

I shall certainly obey your Lordship's commands to Dr. Price on my return to town. The ministry have changed their resolution backwards and forwards, about the application from the Dissenters. The last I heard of was to let it pass the Commons, and let the Bishops stop it in our House. Their

of this bill was to restrain the governor and council from all manner of trade, and to make a total alteration in the court of judicature, and in the mode of administering justice in Bengal ; besides greatly enlarging the Company's powers, with respect to its servants, and the laying of many new restrictions upon them. The bill was laid aside after the second reading. It led, however, to the inquiry which was immediately begun into the affairs of the Company. "In the course of the debates upon this occasion," says the Annual Register, "much altercation arose, and many long charges and defences were made, between some gentlemen who were leaders of parties, or had considerable influence in the India courts, and some others that had acquired vast fortunes in the Company's service abroad. These matters would have been of little consequence to the public, if, through the heat that attended them, and perhaps the animosity from whence they proceeded, the conduct and affairs of the Company, and the transactions of her servants, had not been laid open in such a manner, as evidently showed that they merited a strict inquiry, and wanted much regulation."

* application appears to be well received by all other descriptions.

I have delivered your Lordship's compliments to Colonel Barré, in a letter which I have just written to him, in answer to one I received from him this morning. He mentions a very singular communication which has been made to him from Lord George Germain, through a third person, of his opinion of India affairs; that he knew no way of setting matters right but one, which was to throw the whole into the hands of a single person; that he knew but of one man in the kingdom whose character for firmness, disinterestedness, honour, civil and military talents, pointed him out for such an undertaking, which was Colonel Barré; that he had not only declared it in private, but was ready to do so in public, and to risk his reputation upon the soundness of that opinion. I have written mine very freely to Colonel Barré of the communication, that if his Lordship means, that when the legislature shall have examined the state of the East Indies, and determined on the necessary regulations, supposing them to be only of a preventive nature, and calculated to secure the possessions and tranquillize, if not attach, the people, till a line can be finally and permanently drawn, or a final adjustment made, it might be offered as one among other expedients to send out some single person with extraordinary powers, on the part both of the Crown and Company, to see what was determined

punctually executed, and to assist towards a final arrangement.

I suppose it far from a singular opinion, for I had heard it repeatedly mentioned; but at present we are an hundred miles off an honest inquiry. There appears no probability of any one measure being determined on, the execution of which would be safe, much less honourable, to any except a bankrupt or an adventurer: scarce a possibility, indeed, of any at the end of a session, under such a ministry, such a parliament, such a direction, with an unawakened public open to take their part according to events. Such a proposal, therefore, from the ministry, or the head of the direction, would be either hollow or trifling; but from Lord George Germain, who has nothing to do with either, whose weight is confined to the House of Commons, and whose reputation there is not to risk but to make, must arise from some dark, selfish plan, and I should strongly suspect did not even mean the general course of opposition. From Colonel Barré's manner of writing, I am persuaded we think alike about it; and that if Lord George broaches his idea, it will meet with no countenance from the object of it.

Your Lordship has been already apprized, that England, France, and the court of Vienna, have failed in their joint endeavour to bring about peace between Russia and Turkey; and in their still more earnest one, to prevail on the King of Prussia to withdraw his troops from Polish Russia. I pro-

pose going to London the end of next week, and hope soon after to find your Lordship in perfect health at Hayes. I have the honour to be, with great esteem and respect, your Lordship's faithful

And obliged humble servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Burton Pynsent, April 15, 1772.

HEALTH continues to look propitiously upon Burton. The boys, thank God, as well as the old man, are going on as can be wished. Not any symptoms of William's complaint, and James all spirits: both, a perpetual entertainment, when the arts and learning allow papa his share of them. Pains have been heavy for two or three days, and I have felt some impressions from the weather, but still crawl on. I shall hardly strike our tents so soon as Monday. Roads will mend and waters be run off by two or three days of fine weather; Captain and I shall be firmer, and, above all, a very principal officer, the postilion, in better condition; for, to the consternation of the garrison, two days ago, our Esculapius Saunders discovered a violent "*veteran*" upon him. "He 'uoints and then we come," as Hecate says. The charm was begun Saturday night, and the sage leech assures, that

our journey shall not be hindered, though all the *powers of the north* were to combine against it.

You see how many *contre-tems* leaders of mighty armies have to contend with. Your own experience has sufficiently proved it, and taught the great lesson, to surmount all, by the masterly spirit of resource. As the vitriol seems to be so successful, the delay of a few days is the less intolerable, and our good doctor's caution rather suggests not precipitating. But days, sweet love, are no trifling portions of time: there are *seven* in every week, and but *three* post-days.

I am truly grieved for poor Calcraft; pray mention him in your next. I do not at all understand the nature of his case; a vessel, perhaps, burst. I am happy that our doctor is well, but cannot help saying with Cæsar, "Would he were fatter!" I desire many compliments to him and sincerest kind wishes.⁽¹⁾ Need I tell you how I long for to-morrow, and with what sensations I am employing to-day? Loves innumerable to boy and girls.

CHATHAM.

(1) Lady Chatham, in her reply to this letter, says, "Our good doctor (Addington) yesterday expressed more than I said in my letter. He informed me of what appears to be curious, — 'that Sir Fletcher Norton, after having declared his opinion of the greatness of Lord Chatham, finished by saying, he thought no honours or emoluments parliament could give, would be too much for your merits,' or something to that purpose. This passed in the House of Commons. I had it without more particulars. It came, I think he said, to him from Lord Radnor."

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.Burton Pynsent, April 18, 1772.⁽¹⁾

LET me begin my Harriot's day with the happy account of the boys' continued health, which, thanks to Heaven, flourishes more and more ; my own, too, goes on well. I would give this epistle to nothing but auspicious ideas and joyful gratulations ; but, alas ! the dire contagion has spread, and the weak state of the garrison renders the day of our march a little uncertain. George, Jack Groom, Podge the helper, Tilly, all in tribulation and brimstone ! Podge, so long the prop and hope of the state of Burton, is now the comfort and life of the hospital. He sustains the courage of all by his *bons mots*. Being condemned by Mr. Saunders, he only asked the doctor, if one might eat with his distemper. - The answer being in the affirmative, Podge thanked the doctor, and said, he did not care then for a little scratching. The pestiferous are all stuffed together in a room, and communication cut off. Podge again, on hearing the order for close confinement, says, " why don't my Lord shut us up in the great coop, and have our victuals put through upon forks, as they feed the birds ? "

Thus you see our crippled situation, but all fear of infection going further seems quite over ; and I

(1) The birthday of his second daughter, Lady Harriot Pitt.

trust we may set out the end of next week, or Monday following, or Dr. Saunders must burn his books. This additional derangement in our family would be more vexatious and distressful, if the vitriol was less successful, and a speedy departure necessary, for any thing but the happiness of the impatiently wishing parties, who are to meet again after so long a separation.

The sweet boys are delightful in disappointment : they feel it, and bear it like men. Little James yesterday riding alone in White Cross, while I planted the other side of the lane, was encountering bravely, but in vain, an obstinate and violent fit of *rust* in that *varmin*, Long Sutton, when farmer Cable of Curry came by and interposed. Our little hero scorned to call for aid, or to quit the saddle, though his danger was not small, the little devil of a mare attempting to rise at the field-gate.

A thousand thousand joys on this happy day ! Heaven bless you all, and give us soon to join ! for philosophy is not inexhaustible, where love is quite so.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Burton Pynsent, April 25, 1772.

My epistle of to-day will be short, and to me very sweet ; for it is to tell you we propose setting out on Monday next. The boys are drunk with ex-

pectation and joy ; I, not of the soberest. We celebrated yesterday a cheerful birthday.⁽¹⁾ William complimented James on being so great an arithmetician, being now past *decimals*, and in *un-decimal* ; so you see we pun too, in order to fit ourselves for the University. They both made a morning's visit to Mr. Speke, whose birthday, too, yesterday was. He showed James a charming mare, promised to him for next September : so you may judge if the day was happy. My kind old neighbour this moment arrives, and leaves time only to say my impatience to see you again and the dear children will not be conveyed by words ; till which happy moment, à Dio vi raccomando.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Monday morning, ten o'elock.

[May 18, 1772.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM very glad to find, from the Dissenting ministers, that your Lordship's health will admit of your coming to town on the second reading of their bill. This makes me trouble you with the enclosed sketch of a protest drawn by Dr. Price ; a measure which I find would give their body great satisfaction and countenance, provided your Lordship

(¹) The birthday of his youngest son, James Charles, when he had completed his eleventh year.

approves of it. It has been communicated to no person living: though I must do justice to the Duke of Richmond's present facility of disposition, yet I suppose it doubtful how far he and Mr. Burke will approve any thing that does not come from the same quarter. I beg to submit this and every other consideration to your Lordship's judgment and decision.

I had accidentally some conversation with Lord Gower at the Opera; who made no secret of the intentions of government, in the House of Lords, to oppose the bill, and support the bishops. I observed he also spoke without much scruple of Lord North, or a separate line of government. It is given out, that the King has declared himself much against the bill. Lord Mansfield persists in concealing his opinion, till he comes to the House: it was impossible to put it off to a longer day. I am, &c.

SHELburnE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELburnE.

Monday, May 18, 1772.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE honour of your letter finds me just going to take the air, which is absolutely necessary to give me any chance of attending to-morrow; as I am far from well, and extremely lame. Allow me, my dear Lord, to say on the subject of the enclosed (for the

obliging communication of which I return your Lordship many thanks), that *for myself*, I have no idea of protesting on this occasion. I submit my judgment to better; but I conceive that such a protest would change the situation of the measure from defensive to hostile, no way serve the Dissenters, and afford great advantage to their enemies. I must, therefore, desire to decline protesting. Excuse, my dear Lord, the haste of this note, and believe me always, with perfect respect and affection, your, &c.

CHATHAM. ⁽¹⁾

(¹) On the 19th of May, the bill for the relief of Protestant Dissenters was read a second time in the House of Lords. The motion for committing it was supported by Lords Chatham and Lyttelton, the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Shelburne; and opposed by Lord Bruce, Earl Gower, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Peterborough, Bristol, Llandaff, Oxford, and London. The debate has not been preserved; but the following brief notice of what Lord Chatham said upon this occasion appeared in the newspapers of the day:—

“The Earl of *Chatham* spoke very warmly and spiritedly in favour of the bill; which he attempted to recommend and defend, on the general principles of a liberal toleration. His Lordship showed as much oratory and fire, as, perhaps, he had ever done in the course of his life. In replying to one of the bishops, who had spoken a great deal respecting the dogmas of foreign colleges, he said, there was a college of much greater antiquity, as well as veracity, which he was surprised he never heard so much as mentioned by any of the reverend prelates, and that was the college of the poor, humble, despised Fishermen, who pressed hard upon no man’s conscience, yet supported the doctrine of Christianity, both by their lives and conversations, superior to all; but, my Lords, perhaps I may affront your rank or learning, by applying to such humble, antiquated authorities; for I must confess there is a wide difference between the bishops of those times and the present.”

On a division the bill was rejected by 102 to 29. Lord

LORD LYTTELTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Hagley, July 27, 1772.

MY DEAR LORD,

YOUR kind congratulations on the marriage of my son⁽¹⁾ would have made us all very happy, if they had not been accompanied with the disap-

Mahon, in his *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 59., supposes the above speech to contain a sneer at the irreproachable Bishop Barrington: that such was not the fact, will appear from the following passage in Mr. Burke's speech, in May, 1790, on a motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts:—"In the debate in the House of Lords, in 1772, occasioned by the second application of the Dissenters, Dr. Drummond, the Archbishop of York, having called the dissenting ministers 'men of close ambition,' Lord Chatham (a minister who had directed the government of this country with great glory to its national character, and great safety to the constitution both in church and state,) said, 'that this was judging uncharitably, and that whoever brought such a charge against them defamed them.' Here he paused, and then went on; 'The dissenting ministers are represented as men of close ambition: they are so, my Lords; and their ambition is to keep close to the college of Fishermen, not of cardinals, and to the doctrine of inspired apostles, not to the degrees of interested and aspiring bishops: they contend for a spiritual creed and spiritual worship; we have a Calvinist creed, a Popish liturgy, and an Arminian clergy.' The Earl of Chatham was always regarded as the protector of the Dissenters, and yet I have never heard, that the safety of the church had been once thought in danger during his administration."

(¹) Thomas, afterwards second Lord Lyttelton, born in 1744. On the 26th of June, he had married Apphia, daughter of Broome Watts, of Chipping Norton, Esq., and relict of Joseph Peach, governor of Calcutta.

pointment of the hope, which your Lordship and your family had permitted us to indulge, of seeing you here in August. With how much regret we give it up, I can hardly express, and it grieves me the more, because my park is this year in a higher degree of beauty than I ever beheld it, and I think you would see it — especially all the environs of my house — with the same kind of pleasure, as you would the full maturity of a fine child, whom you had been fond of, in his infancy, and had partly formed yourself, after several years of absence. ⁽¹⁾ You give me, indeed, a prospect of the favour of your company at some future time ; but, alas ! my dear Lord, before another summer comes, a high wind may blow down some of my finest old trees within the view of my house, or a cold wind may blow down me. However, I will trust that our destinies will permit us to meet again at this

(1) Lord Chatham's great taste in laying out grounds has been already noticed. See Vol. I. p. 25. In a letter from the Reverend Edward Wilson to Lady Chatham, written in December, 1771, and detailing a conversation with Bishop Warburton, there is this passage: — "I found the Bishop busy writing, I believe another volume of the *Divine Legation*; upon which I observed to him, that he was still employed for the improvement of mankind. 'Not for the improvement of monarchies, I assure you, Mr. Wilson; that I leave to abler hands, such as my Lord Chatham's: he is the greatest statesman this country ever produced: how exceedingly great was he in the late war! and the splendour of his ministry has been illustrated ever since, by the wretched administrations that have followed him. In gardening, my Lord's taste, too, is inimitable — far superior to Brown's.'"

place, in good health and good spirits, and that you will find all its beauties unimpaired.⁽¹⁾

My son stole a march upon me, which I shall not complain of, if he continues as sensible of the value of the prize he was in such haste to take, as he was when he took it, and I do not despair that he will. For my own part, the more I see of the lady, the more I esteem and love her. They both desire me to present their most respectful compliments and thanks to your Lordship, to Lady Chatham,

⁽¹⁾ This hope was not realised. Lord Lyttelton died on the 22d of August in the following year, and was succeeded by his son. Upon which occasion, his relative, Earl Temple, addressed to him the following affectionate letter:—

‘Stowe, October 7, 1773.

“MY LORD,

“YOU do justice to my feelings, in the expression of your own, concerning the loss of one so justly dear to us all, and whose memory will do honour to his family and country, as long as they exist. I have, in very early days, acknowledged and done justice to your talents: you have also an hereditary right, not only to my affection, but to every real service it could be in my power to show you; the great figure you may yet make, depends upon yourself. Harry the Fifth had been Prince of Wales: he knew how, with change of situation, to shake off the Falstaffs of the age, and all those forlorn accomplishments, which had so long stifled and depressed his abilities.

“Forgive an old man, and by affection a kind of parent, the hint he takes the liberty of giving, and be assured he ardently wishes to see what your Lordship calls his partiality justified by a conduct, which will make him happy in calling himself, my dear Lord,

“Your most affectionate

“and obedient servant,

“TEMPLE.”

and to all their amiable young friends at Burton Pynsent: I will add to mine one request: — If Lord Pitt and his brother William have no better party of pleasure this summer, will your Lordship let them meet Lord Temple here? I dare flatter myself they will not be less inclined to come again with you another year. I am, with the truest attachment,

My dear Lord,
your most faithful humble servant,
LYTTELTON.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

Burton Pynsent, August 17, 1772.

MY DEAR SIR,

DR. ADDINGTON has made us all here so truly happy by the joyful tidings of your recovery from so tedious and anxious an illness, that I cannot help giving expression to these pleasing sensations by a line of congratulation. Lady Chatham desires to be particularly included in the collective group of sincere rejoicers; and I should not do justice to Pitt, and your other young friends, if I did not give them place here. Long may you enjoy the fruits of your wise and long-enduring patience through the obdurate sufferings which have been your lot! and I trust the portion of health to come will abundantly reward your fortitude, and sweeten the remembrance, by a happy contrast.

Do you still continue, my dear Sir, in your purpose of changing climate? Perhaps that caution may be most advisable, in order to defend the possession so hardly obtained. If you leave England for a time, you are at least sure of a better air ; and pretty sure not to meet a more corrupted people, or more contemptible country. Much amusement attend you wherever you go ! and if you bring home health confirmed, it is all that I need wish you. You carry with you, within, an English heart — a more valuable collection than our boasted virtuosi ever import, with all their profusion of expense and waste of time.

Believe me ever, with perfect truth, my dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend and faithful

humble servant,

CHATHAM.

Health, thank God, flourishes here.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Ingress, August 21, 1772.

MY DEAR LORD,

DR. ADDINGTON has duly informed me of your Lordship's frequent inquiries, and I should be much wanting, both in justice and feeling, were I to omit acknowledging the great obligation I am under to him, not only for his skill and care, during the long and grievous illness from which he has recovered

me, but also for his friendship and attention. Indeed, had I been his only child he could not have acted more kindly, and I have every reason to flatter myself, the disorder is quite conquered: strength now is only wanting; which, by gentle exercise and a warm climate, I trust in Providence will, in the course of a few months, be restored. ⁽¹⁾

Your Lordship's letter, conveying such kind congratulations and good wishes from those to whom I bear such honour and respect, is a cordial that will comfort me in all climates and situations. Your Lordship's testimonial is the greatest, if not the only honour an Englishman has now to wish for; and I pity my poor countrymen, who can be deluded by such a Court. Thus it is; sooner or later, they will dearly pay for it, and most earnestly wish they had not been deficient in gratitude and attention to the best and ablest minister any country ever produced; who, at every risk, did, by saving them from destruction in the late war, convince the world of these truths. My plan is to leave England the middle of

⁽¹⁾ The following note, addressed by his brother-in-law to Lord Chatham, *only two days* after the date of the above letter, will show how short-lived were Mr. Calcraft's sanguine expectations of recovery:—

“Ingress, August 23, 1772.

“MY LORD,

“KNOWING the friendship with which you honoured Mr. Calcraft, and the warmth of his regard and esteem for your Lordship, I think it my duty to acquaint you of the melancholy event of his death, which happened this morning about four o'clock. I am, &c. &c.

“A. LUCAS.”

next month, and winter at Naples : should I find that journey longer than is consistent with my present state of body, then to change the course for Nice.

Now, my dear Lord, let me entreat you to accept my warmest thanks for this last and every other mark of your friendship. I hope to deserve the continuance of it. It gives me pleasure to hear you are all well. May it long continue ; attended with every other blessing this world can afford ! Your Lordship's ever obliged and affectionate friend,

JOHN CALCRAFT.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

London, Thursday, November 26, 1772.

MY DEAR LORD,

I RETURNED from Ireland on Saturday, and hope to hear that your Lordship, Lady Chatham, and your family have continued to enjoy the same state of health as when I had the honour of seeing you.

I am come from making one of a very thin meeting of Parliament. The Duke of Chandos⁽¹⁾ and Lord Cathcart moved the address in our House, without any thing particular in either of their

(1) James, the third and last Duke of Chandos, at this time lord-lieutenant of the county of Hants. In 1775, he was appointed lord-steward of the household, and died, without male issue, in 1789.

speeches. Lord Cathcart⁽¹⁾ complimented Lord Sandwich on the state of the navy; which is to be reduced to twenty thousand, and spoke of the peace between Russia and the Porte as probable, from general circumstances. I am told the Counts Orlovs are supplanted in the Empress's favour, and that Count Panin is absolute minister. Mr. Fitzpatrick⁽²⁾ and Dr. Burrell⁽³⁾, who moved and seconded in the House of Commons, held a very hostile language to the India Company; and Lord North afterwards, in terms of more moderation, moved for a secret committee of thirteen, to examine certain points⁽⁴⁾, independent of the select

(1) Charles, ninth Lord Cathcart, one of the sixteen peers for Scotland elected to this parliament, and many years high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland. He died in 1776.

(2) The honourable Richard Fitzpatrick, brother of the Earl of Upper Ossory, and, during forty years, the intimate friend of Mr. Fox. He filled the situation of secretary at war in 1783, and again in 1806. At the time of his death, in 1813, he was a general in the army, and a privy counsellor. He wrote several poetical pieces, and among others, a political eclogue called "The Lyars," pronounced, by the "Pursuits of Literature," the most finished of all the productions of the authors of the *Rolliad*. He wrote the epitaph inscribed on his own monument in the churchyard of Sunning Hill.

(3) William Burrell, Esq. LL.D.; at this time member for Haslemere, and a commissioner of excise. On the death of his father-in-law, Charles Raymond, Esq. of Valentine House, in the county of Essex, who was created a baronet in 1774, with remainder to his son-in-law, he became Sir William Burrell. On his death, in 1796, he was succeeded by his son, the present baronet.

(4) Lord Clive, in a letter written on the 7th of November, from Walcot, to Mr. Strachey, says, "Lord North, when I saw

committee of last winter, who are to proceed notwithstanding.

There are the most contradictory opinions, as to the state of general credit. Some affirm that the storm is past; others say it is yet to come, and very near at hand. It is strongly reported, that the Scotch Bank means to apply to parliament for power to borrow of the Dutch a very considerable sum on landed security, upon a plan of Sir James

him, seemed industriously to avoid entering upon the subject of India affairs; and I do verily believe, from sheer indolence of temper, he wishes to leave every thing to Providence and the Directors; and that he means nothing more by the meeting of parliament before the Christmas holydays, than to enable the Company to find money to discharge the demands that are at present made upon them. However, it behoves me to be prepared for every thing; for which purpose, you will perhaps say, I have been building castles in the air. Enclosed I send you a sketch of my ideas; which, I flatter myself, might be carried into execution by an able, steady, and upright minister. I wish you would take this sketch in hand, and methodise it. I would have you dwell fully and strongly upon the present situation of our affairs in India, and show, beyond a possibility of refutation, the approaching ruin of our possessions in the East, if vigorous measures be not speedily pursued. Your own experience and knowledge, added to my sentiments, expressed in the political paper laid before Lord North, will enable you to make a great progress in this matter; and upon my arrival in town what is wanting may be supplied. I will not patiently stand by, and see a great empire, acquired by great abilities, perseverance, and resolution, lost by ignorance and indolence. If administration should think proper to see our affairs abroad in the same light as I do, *'t is well*. If not, I shall have done my duty." The plan above mentioned was afterwards prepared and presented to Lord North. It bears date the 24th of November, two days before the opening of parliament.

Stewart's. ⁽¹⁾ In the mean time, the great public seem as little occupied with the state of general credit, as they were with that of the India Company five years since; and if the same causes are likely to produce the same effects, the public may, in a short time, find itself in the same situation with the India Company now.

I hear no new arrangements talked of, except that Lord Edgcumbe is likely to succeed to Lord Lichfield, Mr. Jenkinson to be vice-treasurer, and Mr. Charles Fox to come to the treasury. ⁽²⁾ An attempt of Lord Suffolk to make room for Mr. Wedderburne to be attorney-general delayed the appointment of the chief-baron from the 21st to the 26th, and was the unintended means of securing the recorder-ship to Serjeant Glynn. ⁽³⁾

Your Lordship will, I hope, excuse my detaining you so long with town talk. I found the remedy for all my own little ills, where I least expected it, travelling alone in Ireland, and attribute it to the abstinence, exercise, and tranquillity, which long journeys enforce. I am, &c.

SHELburne.

(1) See Vol. II. p. 426. In the course of this year, Sir James published his tract, entitled "The Principles of Money applied to the present State of the Coin of Bengal."

(2) In the beginning of December, Lord Edgcumbe was appointed captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners, vacant by the death of the Earl of Lichfield; Mr. Fox, one of the lords of the treasury; and Mr. Jenkinson, vice-treasurer of Ireland.

(3) On the resignation of Sir Thomas Parker, Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe was made chief-baron of the exchequer, and Sir James Eyre, the recorder of London, a puisne judge in the same court.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Burton Pynsent, November 29, 1772.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE sight of your Lordship's handwriting, with the most welcome information, that you are returned to England and have left all remains of illness behind you, gave me much very real pleasure. I wish your Lordship could have told me you found the public situation better than you left it. The state of affairs is, indeed, deplorable, and the insensibility of the nation, under violated rights and impending ruin, is still more melancholy and opprobrious. Farthest from such a scene of things is best for a man who is sure he can do no good, and who is under the fullest conviction, that *some* who may have meant well have totally missed their way towards the public good. The defiance of the most constitutional power and right, inherent necessarily in the House of Commons and exercised regularly in the best times, I consider as the last fatal error, from which patriotism in the City will never recover, in the judgment of the thinking friends of liberty ; and the more so, as I see the same unaccountable paradox is to continue to be the *cheval de bataille* of every leader of every faction there.

Pardon, my dear Lord, this small excursion into the region of politics ; from which I avert my eyes and dissipate my thoughts as well as I can. The

health your Lordship so kindly interests yourself in, stands its ground better than I had a right to hope, considering my rooted disorder and time of life.

I cannot conclude without a word of poor Mr. Dunning's health. I hear it is deeply shaken. What a sad loss to law and liberty! In the best times it would be grievously felt; in this degenerate day it is quite irreparable. I hope Colonel Barré's health stands well. I am always, with the truest esteem and consideration, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and affectionate humble servant,

CHATHAM.

SIR CHARLES SAUNDERS TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Spring Gardens, December 10, 1772.

MY LORD,

You have put a plain seaman under great difficulties. I assure you I find it a great deal harder to make a proper answer to your Lordship's civilities, than to execute any orders I ever received from you.⁽¹⁾

Your Lordship has made an exchange with me, that I am a gainer by in every way. You have my picture, and I will keep your Lordship's letter, as a

(1) For a character of this brave commander, see Vol. I. p. 405. and p. 453. Sir Charles was one of the admirals employed in the expedition against Quebec.

thing I am at least as proud of, as of the mark I wear of the King's approbation of the services I meant to do, in that time which was truly glorious ; because the best and ablest men in the kingdom were then united in the service of their country.

When your Lordship has furnished your room⁽¹⁾ with the pictures you propose, your children will have as many monuments as there are pictures there, of the wisdom and spirit of their father, that encouraged and directed so many worthy actions. My share was the least in them ; though my reward is the greatest, in your Lordship's partiality and friendship.

I am more pleased with your thinking me a friend to liberty, than with all the rest. I am so to the bottom ; and you may depend upon it.⁽²⁾ I think the country can have no glory without it ; and I have always been happy whenever I could act under your Lordship for the support of it. I am, with the greatest respect and esteem, your Lordship's most obedient and most obliged humble servant,

CHARLES SAUNDERS.

(1) The ball-room at Burton Pynsent ; which was afterwards furnished with whole-length portraits of Lord and Lady Chatham, Lord Temple, the Marquis of Granby, and Admirals Saunders and Boscawen.

(2) In announcing the death of Sir Charles, on the 7th of December, 1775, to the House of Commons, Mr. Hartley said,—" this day is marked by one of the greatest losses this country could sustain, in the death of a great naval commander, a name well known, not only on our common element the ocean, but as a zealous friend to the constitutional rights of America."

CAPTAIN HOOD ⁽¹⁾ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Harley Street, December 13, 1772.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE post of Thursday the 2d brought me the honour of your Lordship's most kind and most flattering letter. Your Lordship greatly over-rates my poor services of friendship. It would give me the highest satisfaction to have it in my power to render what is so amply due to your Lordship from me, and I must ever say, from every individual in the kingdom. I feel this in a double capacity, as a public man, who ardently wishes prosperity to the nation, and from private regard, affection, and esteem. I therefore received, with infinite satisfaction, the pleasing account your Lordship gave of your amazing good health, slight gout excepted; and I most sincerely hope every year will give an increase to the first, and diminish the latter. The winter does, indeed, open with many black scenes; and all seems to be "puzzled in mazes and perplexed with errors." I am quite unacquainted with affairs of a

(¹) See Vol. II. p. 439. Captain Alexander Hood was the younger brother of Lord Hood. He engaged at a very early age in the naval service, and, after distinguishing himself in every rank through which he passed, particularly in the memorable action of the 1st of June, 1794, and also in that of June, 1795, he was created an Irish peer, by the title of Baron Bridport. In 1796, he was raised to the English peerage by the same title, and subsequently became admiral of the red, a general of marines, and, in 1801, a viscount. He died in 1814.

public nature ; but these stare every body in the face, and are daily complained of in the City, and all other parts of this great metropolis.

Two committees are sitting, from the parliament, upon India affairs, and another composed of the Directors. Last Monday a bill was moved for by Mr. Alderman Harley, to restrain the Directors, for a time, from sending out supervisors ; which was carried after some debate by a great majority. The language now is, that government will take the territorial revenue into their own hands ; but I am afraid it is too late for any good to be done, upon an object that might formerly have been of the highest importance to the nation. I remember your Lordship's sentiments upon this subject, six or seven years ago. Many others must remember them ; and I have lately heard some say, that had the measures which your Lordship proposed been carried into execution by the King's servants in both Houses at that time, these evils to the Company and to the revenue would not have happened.

What has the nation been amused with, since that period ? Instead of supporting its honour, promoting its commerce, and maintaining public credit, a little war has been fomented in the City, and carried on with as much acrimony as folly, which has brought us to the brink of ruin. The choice of the Recorder is a public advantage ; and the aldermen having united in supporting Mr. Glynn, does them great honour ; as he is a man of real ability, and high consideration in his profession.

It is impossible, my Lord, to conceive, how much public credit has suffered from various causes. General mistrust has taken place ; all confidence is lost. What magic is to remedy these alarming evils I know not ; but some speedy and powerful efforts must be made, or the whole national credit will be in danger. The captains in the navy are prosecuting their petition for an increase of half-pay. Sir Charles Saunders has had a conference with Lord North upon the subject ; and after Christmas his Lordship will see the committee of captains, and give his answer. Lord Howe, I am told, is to present the petition to the House, and move for the increase, and Captain Pigot⁽¹⁾ is talked of to second the motion. Though I have had nothing to do in this business, yet as Lord North was applied to and had given Sir Charles hopes that he was not unfavourable to the merits of the corps, I thought it would not be improper for me to make my bow to his Lordship at his levee ; which I did last Thursday. He was very gracious to me, but said nothing of the petition. He asked me about Somersetshire, when I left it, and how your Lordship did, and if Burton Pynsent agreed with you. Your Lordship will judge of my answer, from my sentiments of esteem and respect. Lord Sandwich is strongly against the success of the petition, and means to defeat it. The corps are very much dissatisfied with the reception he gave them ; and his

(1) Captain Hugh Pigot, brother of Lord Pigot ; afterwards vice-admiral of the white. He died in 1792.

Lordship will suffer not a little, by the language they hold upon it. Poor Admiral Keppel is now at Bath in a very deplorable way, having lost the use of his legs ; and I hear he does not find the least relief, either from bathing or drinking the waters. I am greatly concerned at the loss the service will sustain, as well as the public, by this sad event. ⁽¹⁾

My vanity is raised by my young friend William's being pleased with my letter to him, and I have reason to be proud ; more especially as your Lordship does me the honour to say, that the whole circle gave it the reading. Candour will always be shown by amiable minds. The best regards and warmest affection attend on all at Burton, from Mrs. Hood, and from, my dear Lord,

Your ever faithful and
devoted servant,

ALEXANDER HOOD.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELburnE.

Burton Pynsent, January 5, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

I REJOICE most unfeignedly at Mr. Dunning's being well enough recovered to think of com-

⁽¹⁾ Afterwards Viscount Keppel ; see Vol. II. p. 129. He was at this time member for Windsor, and vice-admiral of the blue.

mitting the highest of all indiscretions. ⁽¹⁾ I hope that reason and persuasion, in the shape of your Lordship, will triumph over this sally of returning health. If Mr. Dunning can for a time forego the bar, he may live long, and prolong the life of the declining constitution of our country, and most probably will one day raise up again the great seal. ⁽²⁾ How many professors of the law he may chance to outlive gives me no solicitude; I only pray he may not “outlive the law itself,” to use Serjeant Maynard’s words ⁽³⁾; a danger, perhaps, not quite visionary. I am always, with the truest esteem and affectionate respect,

CHATHAM.

⁽¹⁾ This refers to a passage in a letter of Lord Shelburne, in which he says, “Mr. Dunning is, I am afraid, too well; that is, well enough to be tempted to return to business next term, contrary to the advice of his friends.”

⁽²⁾ Through the influence of the Earl of Shelburne, Mr. Dunning sat in three parliaments for the borough of Calne. In 1782, on the formation of the administration under the Marquis of Rockingham, he was appointed chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and created a peer, by the title of Lord Ashburton. He died in the following year, at the age of fifty-two. Dr. Johnson was in the habit of calling him “the great lawyer;” and Mr. Burke, at a public meeting, declared, that he “knew no man of a more erect and independent spirit, a more manly mind, or a more firm and determined integrity.”

⁽³⁾ The Prince of Orange, shortly after his arrival in England, having, in allusion to Serjeant Maynard’s great age, observed to him, that he had outlived almost all the great lawyers of his time—“Yes, Sir,” replied the Serjeant, “and I should have outlived the law itself, if your highness had not come over to our assistance.”

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Bowood Park, January 17, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

ALLOW me to return your Lordship and Lady Chatham many thanks for the agreeable days I spent at Burton Pynsent. May I presume to add a great many to your society for an entertainment not only in point of genius, but, what I admire much more, purity and innocence, worthy the best times of Greece and Rome.

I have the honour to send to you from Colonel Barré, to whom it belongs, the Report of the Secret Committee.⁽¹⁾ Lord Clare tells me, that he has had a letter from a well-informed person in London, which says, that Lord North is discouraged from taking the territorial revenue into the hands of the

(1) On the 7th of December, the Secret Committee appointed at the opening of the session, to inquire into the state of the East India Company, gave in a special report, recommending that a bill should be brought in to restrain the East India Company, for a limited time, from sending out supervisors. The rapidity with which this recommendation was produced drew from Mr. Burke the observation, that "ministers, finding that the Select Committee of last year, a lawful wife publicly avowed, was barren, and had produced nothing, had taken a neat little snug one, which they called a Secret Committee, and that this was her first-born. Indeed," added he, "from the singular expedition of this extraordinary delivery, I am apt to think she was pregnant before wedlock." The bill, though strongly opposed, as being oppressive and unconstitutional, ultimately passed both Houses.

Crown, finding the friends of administration in the House of Commons very averse to it. Dr. Price writes to me from London, that “the times seem at present to be growing more and more dark and alarming. In consequence of the bankruptcies in Amsterdam, we have already had nine or ten failures, and many more are expected. It is also expected, that we shall soon hear of the failure of several houses at Hamburgh, nor is it possible to know how far the mischief may spread, or in what it will end. The Dissenting ministers are preparing for another application to parliament, and the bishops may possibly be obliged into another league in defence of intolerance.” I am, with a very full sense of your Lordship’s friendship and goodness, my dear Lord,

Your obliged and devoted

humble servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Burton Pynsent, January 22, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE united thanks of a family for the days you made happy to them all ought to have prevented your Lordship’s obliging attention from Bowood Park. Though we did not get the start by the

post, we certainly were not behind in very real sensations of all your Lordship's goodness. Our youthful aspirers to honest fame are, as I wished to see them, excessively vain of the applauses with which you honour them. ⁽¹⁾

Give me leave, in the next place, to proceed to my best acknowledgments for the Report of the

(1) The children had written a play, possessing some merit, which they occasionally represented before their parents and intimate friends. Lord Chatham took much interest in these performances; and upon one occasion, when Dr. Addington remarked the singular accuracy of emphasis with which the speeches were delivered, he replied, "William is certainly very correct, but Pitt will be *the* orator." The following playful petition, signed by every member of the family, having reference to one of these representations, has been obligingly communicated by William Beckford, Esq.:—

"September 1, 1772.

"The Petition of all and every the inhabitants of Burton Pynsent, in the county of Somerset, humbly sheweth, That William Beckford, Esq. of Fonthill-Gifford, in the county of Wilts, has, by the graces of his person, liveliness of his wit, and sweetness of his disposition, so captivated all hearts, that the said inhabitants of the place aforesaid cannot tell how to part with him; that so many of the above inhabitants as dare avow a passion, declare themselves in love with the said William Beckford, Esq., and that, moreover, certain young spinstresses, if they might own as much, are not less enamoured. The Petition further represents, that on Monday next ensuing, being the seventh day of September, a thing without a name, somewhat resembling a stage play, is to be then and there performed by sundry parishioners of Curry-Rivel; that William Beckford, Esq. aforesaid, being most desirous to act the part of Audience at such representation, We the underwritten most humbly request that Mrs. Beckford will, in her great goodness, give her consent to the same: on granting which, her Petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c. &c.

JAMES CHARLES PITT.

WILLIAM PITT.

HARRIOT PITT.

JOHN L. PITT.

HESTER PITT.

W. BECKFORD.

JOHN LETTICE.

EDWARD WILSON.

CHATHAM.

HESTER CHATHAM."

Secret Committee, and as your Lordship's kind letter is all favours, I trust you will allow mine to be all thanks. The Report I return by this same post, begging the favour of you to convey it to Colonel Barré; who was extremely kind to spare it thus long, at a time when, possibly, he may want to have recourse to it, as I perceive some marks of his upon it. May I place here my best compliments to him, and, if you give me leave, not a few in number. As to the Report, I am much edified with it. As far as it has gone I like the spirit of it well; as it does "nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice." It really is an able performance in business, does credit to the Committee, and particularly to those who have drawn it up. I understood, I think from your Lordship, that it was principally Jenkinson's. What a scene it opens! I wish the French barrier was managed with Bengal economy. I would not wish to take their strong places, but beg them to fortify on, and be undone by defending themselves. But to be serious; *coute qu'il coute*, I rejoice that there is a Fort William and a Madras. One impregnable, I trust; the other defensible. Trade in India, internal and external, stands at present on little else than the guns of our ships and fortresses: a forced foundation which will fail, if not timely strengthened by a system of justice and humanity, of sounder and larger policy.

The cloud that hangs over public credit is gloomy enough; perhaps 'big with confusion:

though I incline to think the storm will roll off; for, compared with all the rest of Europe, credit in England, though somewhat shaken, is still the pilared firmament, *relatively to others' rottenness*. You see, my dear Lord, how much more tranquil and full of hope a farmer's chimney-corner is, than the Royal Exchange, the Bank of England, or the palace of a nabob!

I am, with affectionate respect, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's

most faithfully devoted

humble servant,

CHATHAM.

LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

London, January 21, 1773.

MY LORD,

THE particular manner in which his Majesty has been advised to make a late promotion in the army has so much the appearance of a premeditated affront to me, that I feel myself under an absolute necessity of retiring from a profession, in which I have served six-and-twenty years.

The King thought proper, in May last, to promote to the rank of colonel all those who stood in the list as lieutenant-colonels of the years 1758, 1759, and 1760. A very few were left out, who were supposed to have no wish for farther employment,

either by their having exchanged upon half pay, or on account of age or infirmities ; but these, upon an application to the War Office, were almost to a man reinstated. In the course of last summer, his Majesty gave the rank of colonel to Lieutenant-colonel Prescott, who stood first in the year 1761. The last Gazette announced the promotion of Lieutenant-colonel Gray and Sir Thomas Wilson ; and in order to get at Lieutenant-colonel Morrison, the quarter-master-general, the King has passed over myself and Sir Hugh Williams⁽¹⁾ ; both refractory members of parliament. I was Colonel Morrison's senior, not only in rank but in the possession of a high staff office ; which, with the government of Stirling Castle, was, as your Lordship may remember, trusted to more accredited officers ; who, in their parliamentary capacity, were to decide upon general warrants. All these circumstances considered, though I had no reason to flatter myself with the expectation of military emoluments, yet I thought I was so far *hors d'insulte*, that the idle honours of the profession would not be withheld from me ; and the more so, as the Secretary at War had last session assured me, in a private and unsought-for conversation, that his Majesty would certainly promote me in my turn.

This new discipline, my Lord, is surely not calculated to cherish the spirit of an army, which your Lordship had taught to conquer in every climate. Directed as it has been lately, I am proud

(1) Member for Beaumaris.

of renouncing the profession. To enable me to take this step, with propriety to myself and with decent respect to the King, I feel that I stand in need of the long experience and sound judgment of much abler men than myself.

There are three methods of doing it : — to ask an audience of the King and resign in the closet ; to write a short letter to Lord Barrington ; or to write him a letter giving the reasons of my determination. I am so little versed in the etiquette of a court, that I do not know whether the first is in itself proper, or how far (taking in all circumstances) it is attainable.

It is very distressful to me to break in upon your Lordship's retirement, by asking your advice in matters relating to myself alone, or by teasing you with an account of the paltry triumphs of a court ; but I trust much in the friendship with which your Lordship has been pleased to honour me, and you know the spirit of the times too well to be surprised at hearing that Lord Chatham's friend is deemed a proper object of persecution.

Accept, my Lord, my most zealous and earnest wishes for your Lordship's health, and believe me to be, with the highest consideration and respect,

Your Lordship's

most faithful and

obedient servant,

I. BARRÉ.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ.

Burton Pynsent, January 24, 1773.

DEAR SIR,

THE occasion of your letter gives me much real concern, at the same time that I feel very sensible satisfaction from this flattering mark of the friendship and confidence with which you honour me. You rate, I fear, a little experience much too high, when you deem me able to offer you any advice that may be useful, on a matter you feel with so just a sensibility. My own sensations, too, on such a wanton species of oppression, fatal to the army or the constitution, and indeed to both, may not perhaps better qualify me for the prudent office of counsel; truly flattered, however, with this proof of your opinion, I most readily meet, my dear Sir, your obliging desire, and will proceed without farther preface to the three modes of resignation you mention.

An audience of his Majesty is far the most desirable, could it be obtained; but as strict etiquette does not support this way, I take for granted it would be barred against you. A short letter, without reasons, seems defective; and an ampler, with reasons, may never reach the closet or the public. If, therefore, a fourth mode, obviating these difficulties and not liable to others, could be taken, it seems to me, that might be most eligible. The instance of the promotion, in May last, of lieutenant-colonels passed

over being reinstated in rank on application to the War Office, seems to suggest and authorise a representation, similar in kind though somewhat varied in the manner, on the injustice, in the present case. Suppose, then, a short letter, officially civil to the Secretary at War, accompanying a memorial to the King, conceived in measured terms, to the following effect:—“ Stating simply years of service, promotion of junior officers over you, conscious that no want of zeal, as an officer, for the glory of his Majesty’s army and the lustre of his crown, can have drawn down such a signal hardship; relying, therefore, on his Majesty’s tender justice towards a profession, whose true reward is honour, most humbly pray to be reinstated, according to seniority of rank, the rightful pretensions of service, and invariable course of promotions in the army.”

If the above idea has any thing in it right enough to be adopted, better words may easily occur to you to clothe it. I only sketch the thought rough, that you may see how it looks upon paper. If such a step (supposing it proper) should produce redress, it is bare justice, not favour, and may be accepted, without encumbering you with obligation to ministry: the army, in the mean time, preserves an ornament, and a resource for the day of danger; the loss of which will be regretted too late, if you retire without return. If, on the other hand, such a memorial produces nothing, the injustice is thereby clearly constated, the persecution more glaringly

manifested, and the reasons of your leaving the army fixed upon record in your own words.

I have been already too long ; but when subjects interest, it is difficult to be brief. I sincerely wish my thoughts may be of the least use. If, upon weighing the whole matter, you shall judge any other step preferable, I cannot release you from my unceasing pen, without first entreating, that you will not suffer delicacy towards me and my opinion to mix in the determination, beyond the entire concurrence of your own mind. I have hazarded my thoughts freely, as from friend to friend : deal as freely, and reject or adopt, without the least ceremony. I am, with truest esteem and distinguished consideration, my dear Sir,

Your most faithful and

affectionate humble servant,

CHATHAM.

LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

London, February 9, 1773.

MY LORD,

THE paper which I have the honour of enclosing for your Lordship's perusal states the whole of an affair, now, I suppose, finished, and which was of very little importance in itself, before your Lordship most obligingly honoured it with your attention. You will see, my Lord, that I profited of the advice you very kindly gave me : the propriety and

wisdom of it struck me, and I did not hesitate an instant. Your Lordship's words were the fittest to express your own ideas, and I took them, with the single omission of "invariable course of promotions in the army," because that is not exactly the case.

I shall trouble your Lordship with no comment upon the conduct of the court. I have many apologies to make to you for my intrusion, and a thousand thanks for the singular cordiality and friendship with which your Lordship has flattered me upon this occasion. I am, with the most perfect consideration and esteem, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful and

devoted humble servant,

I. BARRÉ. (¹)

P. S. As I only very lately knew of this conveyance, I write in some haste, and am just returned from the House ; where the question of increasing the captains of the navy's half pay was carried by 154 to 45. Sir Gilbert Elliot, the Scotch, and the Duke of Grafton's friends were with us. (²)

(¹) The enclosures referred to in this letter were the memorial, and the correspondence with the Secretary at War ; which terminated with a request from Lieutenant-colonel Barré to be allowed to retire from the service.

(²) Lord Howe had this day presented a petition to the House of Commons, from the captains and commanders of the navy, praying for an increase of their half-pay. On the petition being read, there was for some time a general silence in the House, on account, as was supposed, of the modest and unassuming terms in which it was couched, considering the rank

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ.

Burton Pynsent, February 15, 1773.

DEAR SIR,

THOUGH some lameness of hand allows me at present but little use of my pen, I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of thanking you for your very obliging letter, with its enclosures. I am, I confess, much disappointed by the issue of the affair to which it relates ; not believing that Astræa had so entirely taken leave of our court, or that the weakest policy could sleep so fast in the lap of peace, as not once to dream, at least, that a war may come again. If the spirit of service could be killed in an English army, such strokes of wanton injustice would bid fair for it. I applaud highly your letter, and all the profession must lament the occasion.

I am happy that the captains of the navy have triumphed over the *misère* of Downing Street. The eminent majority does honour to the House. As the captains have prospered, I hope the shipwrights will too ; if their desires are equally reasonable. You see, I am an arrant *spendthrift* throughout ! Should the King's yards be deserted by the ablest workmen, for want of such due encouragement as

and high deserts of the petitioners. After an animated debate, in which the motion for referring it to a committee was supported by Colonel Barré, Captain Phipps, Sir George Savile and others, and opposed by Lord North and Mr. Fox, it was agreed to by one hundred and fifty-four against forty-five.

they can find elsewhere, what will the economists say? My hand admonishes me to conclude ; which I cannot do, without assuring you I shall always be happy in every occasion of testifying with what perfect esteem and consideration I am, dear Sir,

Your most faithful and

obedient humble servant,

CHATHAM.

LIEUT.-COLONEL BARRÉ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

London, February 21, 1773.

MY LORD,

By this opportunity I have the honour of sending to your Lordship the last Report of the East India committee, which is just come out. I beg it may be permitted to remain at Burton Pynsent ; where it shall be followed by the others as soon as they are delivered out. To-morrow Lord North is to fix a day for at least a partial consideration of this important business.

My correspondence with Lord Barrington was closed last Monday by the following letter : — “ I have laid before the King your letter of the 8th instant to me ; and I am commanded to acquaint you, that, in consequence of your request therein expressed, you have his Majesty’s permission to retire from the service.” — Many, many apologies are due to your Lordship for the trouble I have given you in the

course of this affair ; which, as it related entirely to myself, was of little moment, till your Lordship's friendship for me raised it into some importance.

The Shipwrights' petition is to be considered on Friday next. I do not know the intentions of government, but their claim seems to be just ; for they only ask to be more regularly paid, and offer to commute a perquisite⁽¹⁾, very wasteful and expensive to the public, for a small increase of daily pay.

The captains of the navy have triumphed, it is true ; but, I fear, more from cabal than from the generous sentiments of the House at large. They were used unjustly when they were denied the countenance of ministry ; but the manner of denying was still worse — there was brutality in it. I am not surprised, however, at this strange work. With these men your Lordship gave law to the world ; your bungling successors are perfectly ignorant of the use or application of such valuable instruments. I hope this scrawl will find your Lordship much relieved from the pain which you complained of in your last.

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration and truest respect, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

and devoted servant,

I. BARRÉ.

(1) Arising from the sale of chips. On the presentation of the petition, the proposed commutation being opposed by Lord North, was not acceded to by the House.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Bowood Park, February 27, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE grand committees for trade and religion are great only in name. Your Lordship will see the state of the last ⁽¹⁾ from Dr. Price's letter ; which you will take the trouble to burn, as it is of no consequence to return it. Lord Mansfield, I understand, recommended some alterations to give the bishops decent ground to change their conduct. In the East India business, the only contest seems to be between the ministry and Lord Rockingham's friends, who shall be most active in protecting the guilty directors and servants ; while the latter seem determined to find no fault with any ministry, except that of 1767. ⁽²⁾

(1) A motion made in the House of Commons, by Sir William Meredith, "that the House should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, or any other test now required of persons in either of the two Universities," had, on the 23d, been negatived by one hundred and fifty-nine against sixty-seven.

(2) Early in the year, the Court of Directors, seeing the Company's concerns burdened on every side, and having no means of answering the demands upon them, had been compelled to apply to Government for a loan of a million and a half for four years. On the 9th of March, Lord North, in calling the attention of the House of Commons to the subject, observed, that the granting of relief to the Company was a matter of policy and expediency, but in no degree a claim of right or of justice, as had been represented. He not only called in question the Company's claim of exclusive right, but insisted

The court remains as eccentric and impenetrable as ever. No one can account for the late manœuvre about the sea-captains, except it be to keep their troops in exercise; and to do them justice, they showed excellent discipline, particularly the Scotch corps. Your Lordship has been informed of what has passed relative to Colonel, now Mr. Barré. Lord Barrington, after an interval of eight days more, signified the King's acceptance of his resignation; since which, Lord North and the Bedfords have avowed, separately and without reserve, their disapprobation of the measure which occasioned the step. This leaves no doubt from what quarter the measure comes. It is but just to apprise your Lordship what proscribed people you honour sometimes with your correspondence.

The distress in the city, though it continues very great, so as to affect every dealing more or less, is not likely to come, as far as I find, to any crisis; as your Lordship foresaw. Acts have been and are passing, some avowedly, others indirectly, to assist the Scotch with money from Holland; but sensible men imagine, that many will still be ruined, by over-enterprising in the West Indies. I have the honour to be, with the greatest esteem,

Your Lordship's most obliged humble servant,

SHELburnE.

upon a prior right in the state. Mr. Dowdeswell, on the other hand, maintained, that the Company had an exclusive right to the territories it possessed, whether acquired by conquest or otherwise.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Berkeley Square, March 30, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

I BEG to congratulate Lady Chatham and all your Lordship's society at Burton Pynsent upon your recovery. The immediate occasion of my troubling your Lordship is to acquaint you, upon what footing Mr. Barré has left the India affairs; as the line he took appears to me, so far as it goes, agreeably to your Lordship's ideas, was remarkably well received by the House, and almost universally commended since. The question before the House was upon confining the dividend to six per cent. for the present, with a reversionary power, after a certain period, to raise it to seven per cent. ⁽¹⁾ Mr. Burke not only ran as usual upon the administration of 1767, but was wilder than usual; attacking the conduct of Beckford, and that of Lord Chief Justice De Grey, then attorney-general. ⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Lord North had, on the 23d, moved, first, "that supposing the public should advance a loan to the East India Company, the dividend of the Company should be restrained to six per cent. until the repayment of the sum advanced;" and, secondly, "that the Company should be allowed to divide no more than seven per cent. until their bond debt was reduced to one million and a half."

⁽²⁾ "The bait," said Mr. Burke, "which tempted the administration of 1767, was thirteen millions of specie. A shrill voice (Mr. Beckford's), something like the call of a huntsman to the early horn, came from that side of the House to the following purport, 'Look to the East.' One lawyer said, that

This gave Mr. Barré occasion to defend both, as well as to state the wisdom and comprehensiveness of the measures then intended, and their probable consequences, had they had fair play. He contended, that their failure was owing, not, as Mr. Burke said, to a general sense of their injustice and inexpediency, but to the faction of some of the honestest men of the kingdom, who had just left administration, and the interior intrigues of the court; that the Company itself became factious in such hands, contrary to their own interest. He then stated the difference between the measures pursued at the beginning and at the end of 1767 — the vexatiousness and inconsequential oppression of the last as meriting censure, if not impeachment, as much as the general neglect of government since, until called upon by impending ruin. The interposition, though late, was, he said, commendable; the confining the dividend to six per cent. appeared just; the reversionary dividend being confined to seven per cent. appeared not strictly so, as their regular dividend upon their trade had formerly gone as far as eight per cent., and a great

the Crown, though it could not claim the territorial possessions by a legal right, yet ought, *per fas aut nefas*, to enjoy them! but I then said, and now say, that the Company's possessions were not gained by conquest, and therefore the Crown can have no right to them; or granting them to be all gained by conquest, that even then the Crown has no right to them. No lawyer with a rag of a gown upon his back, or a tie-grizzle upon his head, has ventured to assert, that the Crown has any right to these possessions."

deal of stock might be and was in the hands of innocent proprietors: however, as the one per cent. in dispute was only reversionary, it was not worth much contest. The reports made had, he said, merit, if well followed up; that suspicions of malversations were abroad, and arose from publications in the hands of every one: that the eyes of parliament must not be shut to delinquents on the one hand, nor to extraordinary merits on the other; both should be weighed, and justice strike the balance: that public examples were requisite to check the spirit of extortion and inhumanity prevailing in Bengal: that if it was intended to take the revenue and patronage into our own hands, a stand would be to be made against a step so highly dangerous to the constitution — the finger of government to direct, aid, and control, upon extraordinary occasions, might be useful; but the strong hand of government would ruin all. On the other hand, the total loss of Bengal was, he said, not to be risked from views of hostility to administration, whatever return the conduct of men in 1767 deserved: the business should be finished this session; the ministers would be highly criminal if they delayed it longer. That the times were favourable, if no new domestic occurrence happened to disturb our peace: opposition was extinct; the ministers were accredited by the King, and consequently had nothing to impede their operations: the House had shown a strong desire to assist them, if they acted with spirit; while it was not to be presumed, that so

much tranquillity abroad as well as at home could be long reckoned upon.

I hope these debates, which, for correctness' sake, I took from Barré's mouth this morning, will be sufficient to convey to your Lordship how the matter stands. The ministry appear since to have been encouraged by what passed, and declare their determination of sitting long enough in the summer to finish the business. They likewise profess the utmost impartiality and firmness. ⁽¹⁾

The Presbyterian bill is to be debated in our House on Friday. I will take care to acquaint your Lordship of the event, if material. ⁽²⁾ I have the honour to be, with the truest respect and attachment, your Lordship's most devoted

SHELBURNE.

⁽¹⁾ In a letter from Lord Clive to General Wedderburne*, written on the 25th of March, two days after the debate here spoken of, there is the following passage: — "I think a remedy may be applied to the many increasing evils in every part of India, if Government will stand forth, and do what they ought to do upon the occasion. I have ever been of opinion, that all reformation abroad, until a thorough reformation takes place at home, can only be temporary, and must in the end prove futile. If we cannot have an able, honest, and independent Court of Directors at home, and a Governor and Council-General abroad of the same stamp, there is no salvation for the Company, and we shall at last be driven to the dreadful alternative, of either seeing the whole of our possessions fall into the hands of Government, or of our inveterate enemies the French."

⁽²⁾ Notwithstanding the fate of the Protestant Dissenters' relief bill last year, another was this session brought into the House of Commons. It passed that House by a majority of sixty-five against fourteen; but was rejected in the Lords by eighty-six against twenty-eight.

* Brother of the Solicitor-General; who then commanded at Bombay. In the November following, he fell at the siege of Broach.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELburnE.

Barton Pynsent, April 14, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

I CANNOT delay till my hand is stronger and my writing more legible, to express to your Lordship how truly I feel the very kind concern you take in my health, and all the most obliging attentions with which your friendship honours me. Your Lordship's too partial mention in the House of Lords of a man *buried*, but whose sentiments are not *dead*, fills me with the warmest gratitude, and supplies whatever a philosophic recluse may have left of pride and ambition with the highest gratification. Mr. Barré's noble and universally applauded speech on India is another copious source of self-flattering reflection to me ; for my vanity leads me to trace, in all the principles and sentiments of it, an entire conformity to my own views and way of thinking, with regard to this complicated and momentous object. Thus, my dear Lord, you see of what stuff a hermit is made, when he can derive nourishment to his own pride and importance from the abilities, virtues, and fame of others. If Mr. Barré is at Bowood, may I beg my best compliments and many thanks for the report he was so good as to commit to Captain Hood for me, which reached me last night. The volume is immense, and room for much iniquity to display itself. I shall encounter it as my strength increases ; some account of which your Lordship's

goodness allows me to think is not uninteresting at Bowood.

My gout has been more languid, having been checked by the sore throat, and not quite so salutary as when more painful; but I gain ground apace, air daily in a carriage, and hope soon to be able to be on my horse. I hear, in the debate on the Dissenters, the ministry avowed *enslaving* them, and to keep the cruel penal laws, *like bloodhounds coupled up*, to be let loose on the heels of these poor conscientious men, when government pleases; *id est*, if they dare to dislike some ruinous measure, or to disobey orders at an election. Forty years ago, if any minister had avowed such a doctrine, the Tower! the Tower! would have echoed round the benches of the House of Lords; but, *fuit Ilium*, the whole constitution is a shadow! I am, with the highest esteem and respect, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's very affectionate

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Burton Pynsent ⁽¹⁾, April 20, 1773.

MADAM,

DIFFERENT accidents have prevented my thanking your Ladyship sooner for the favour of your letter. I was honoured with a very kind one from Lord Chatham, and one doubly acceptable, as it

(¹) So dated in the original.

confirmed your Ladyship's obliging account of his amendment. I propose answering it, as soon as I return to town, and find any thing worth communicating to his Lordship.

The Presbyterian bill was opposed much in the manner of last year; but I think more faintly. Lord Bruce opened the debate in his Tory capacity, Lord Gower in that of a Whig. The Bishop of London⁽¹⁾ then made a set speech; Lord Mansfield answered him ably; and though he declared only for the commitment, his argument undoubtedly went to the most extensive line of toleration. He threw out a singular idea — I do not see for what purpose, except that Lord Mansfield must always make a new or a middle proposition — that the legislature might be contented with their signing a dissent to the Articles each member did not approve, and his assent to the others. The Duke of Grafton's speech, as far as it had any character, was that of a man expecting to be again in power, and giving hopes, that a way might be found to satisfy both churches. With sincere attachment and devotion, I have the honour to be your Ladyship's

Most obliged humble servant,

SHELBURNE.

(1) Dr. Richard Terrick, translated from Peterborough to London in 1764. He died in 1777.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

London, Sunday, April 25, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

YOUR Lordship does me too much honour by your letter of the 14th instant. On my arrival in town on Wednesday, I found the world much engaged upon account of the fleet which had been ordered the night before.⁽¹⁾ The French ambassador publicly declares, that he gave the ministry notice of the preparations, in the way of conversation, eleven days before. Mr. Dunning, who is perfectly recovered, called upon me on his way to London, and I believe expected to find a disposition in the Attorney-General to follow up the India business, wherever the road of justice led. The Attorney is understood to have been all along, and to be still, very firm and direct upon the sub-

(1) Sixteen ships of the line were, on that day, ordered to be victualled and manned, with all possible expedition, and Sir Charles Saunders was appointed to the command of them. In a letter of this date, from Mrs. Hood, the wife of Captain Alexander Hood, to Lady Chatham, she says,—“ You will enjoy the fine spirit that Sir Charles shows, when I relate what he said this morning to some members of parliament: — ‘ I hope there will be some motion made, that I may go down to the House and vote against administration. I shall go to the King on Wednesday, and to Portsmouth on Thursday, and will hoist my flag and get into my ship, and never stir out of it while I stay in England.’ Upon its being said, that our equipment would be only a fleet of observation, Sir Charles said, ‘ If I sail, it will be a war.’ He asked for a vice and rear admiral, and consequently more strength, but was answered, in regard to the latter, he had all they had: the other was refused.”

ject. I may tell your Lordship, that he communicated to this effect with Mr. Dunning, Sir E. Wilmot, Barré, and Cornwall, with more or less confidence; Lord North likewise, in the way of private conversation, spoke with the same tendency. Mr. Dunning, I believe, did not hesitate to say, that he would sacrifice both his health and his profession to the public service, where such an object was in question; but I am sorry to find that he doubts to-day the firmness of Government, and it remains to be seen to-morrow what line Government will take. It is understood, that Lord North has never consulted any cabinet upon the subject. The distress for money is inconceivable. The manufacturers throughout the kingdom feel it most materially.

I have the honour to be, my dear Lord, your Lordship's

Most devoted humble servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

London, Sunday, May 2, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

Most people expect to know to-morrow the decision of government as to East India objects. There are two opinions; one is, that Lord North remains still in a state of indecision, whether to let the Attorney-General loose upon delinquents at

home and abroad; the other, that Lord Mansfield has been consulted, and that he foresees great dangers from having recourse to a parliamentary judicature in such times; which opinion, it is supposed, will determine the conduct of Government. I apprehend myself, that what I wrote your Lordship last, from Mr. Dunning's view of things, will prove the event, and that nothing will be done in the way of punishment or example, however called for by the Reports already laid before the House, or any other evidence. The Duke of Richmond and the adherents of that party continue to act among the proprietors; but that quarter is so debilitated in the public opinion, and the ground of their activity so mistaken and misinformed, that little good is to be expected from it.⁽¹⁾

I have the honour to be your Lordship's

Obliged and humble servant,

SHELburnE.

⁽¹⁾ On the next day, Lord North moved, in the House of Commons, resolutions to the following effect:—“1. That the Court of Directors should in future be elected for four years; six members annually, but none to hold their seats longer than four years: 2. that no person should vote at the election of the Directors who had not possessed their stock twelve months; and, 3. that the stock of qualification, instead of 500*l.* should be 1000*l.*” These and other resolutions were agreed to, and made the foundation of a bill, “for establishing certain regulations for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company, as well in India as in Europe.” After more than a month's continual agitation, this bill passed the Commons, on the 10th of June, by a majority of one hundred and thirty-one against thirty-four.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Burton Pynsent, May 24, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

OUR most welcome guest Lord Stanhope, who left us on Friday last, brought me the flattering mark of your Lordship's kind attention ; for which I beg to offer abundance of acknowledgments. As for your Lordship's invalid humble servant, the gout has laid such fast hold, that it seems unwilling to quit, and keeps me under the inability as yet to use my legs ; and my hands continue very lame. My health, however, in other respects, is, thank God, tolerable for my time of day. Indian affairs are in a most interesting crisis ; nor can any public object be more important to the honour and welfare of the nation. A very laudable spirit seems to be up in the House of Commons ; but the conjuncture is such, that extremes are to be apprehended. Factionous tenderness may prevent any justice and example, and honest warmth may easily step beyond due bounds.

I always conceived that there is in substantial justice a mixed right to the territorial revenues between the state and the Company, as joint captors : the state equitably entitled to the larger share, as largest contributor in the acquisition, by fleet and men, &c. Nor can the Company's share, when ascertained, be considered as private property, but in trust for the public purposes of defence of India

and the extension of trade, never in any case to be portioned out in dividends to the extinction of the spirit of trade. Dividends are in their nature strictly limited to the profits of trade; any thing more is undue, and an imposition and defrauding of the public services. Inland trade exclusive of the natives is the rankest and most odious oppression to be abolished for ever. This, together with the want of justice in judicature, has lost us the favourable dispositions of Hindostan. Justice should be solidly established under independent judges, holding their offices as the judges here, removable only by address of parliament, and under severest penalties if they meddle in trade. The nomination of the Crown seems to me to be the proper way. Pardon, my dear Lord, these thoughts hastily writ, but long weighed.

Believe me ever your Lordship's devoted

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Lyme Regis, Sunday, 6 o'clock p. m.
June 6, 1773.

DEAR boys look charmingly. Podge will not be less welcome for bringing this interesting word of information. Mr. Wilson's countenance spoke all to have gone well, and his words fully confirm the same. I found, on my arrival, all at church, Mr. Wilson preaching. Beef of Old England ready —

not at an Old England hour — at four o'clock, on account of evening service. Papa better pleased to find so exemplary a family. The sea continues kind to our race; Pitt and William striving who shall, by good looks, carry the vogue among the ladies of our Vauxhall. Engagements for tea this evening too far advanced to be retracted, in any way becoming a *cavalier*: so papa insists on playing a solo. So much the more will he be at Burton in thought. To-morrow the boys have twenty projects for me — Pinney, Whitney, or Hallet's. The *Philosopher* ⁽¹⁾ is, as he ought, for visiting first the greatest wonder in nature, a *petrifying* spring at Whitlands; and to encourage me the more, assures me that Wielbier is determined to see the *putrifying* well. I hope he does not intend to water his larder with it, this dog-day weather. For *pensées ingénieuses*, I have, as yet, only collected, that a beauty of our coterie generously disclaiming the low sentiment of envy, and declaring that, for her part, she had a particular pleasure in seeing a pretty woman, a polite philosopher replied gallantly, “and every day, Madam, *in your own glass*.” Adieu, sweet love! May the freshness of evening have recruited you after the day's burning heats!

(1) His son William. Dr. John Johnson, in his *Life of Hayley*, says, that “during his residence at Lyme he became acquainted with the two sons of Lord Chatham. William was then a wonderful boy of fourteen, who endeared himself not a little to the poet, by admiring his favourite horse, and by riding to show him several romantic spots in the vicinity, where an earthquake is supposed to have produced a wild and beautiful singularity of appearance in the face of nature.”

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.Lyme Regis, Tuesday, past five,
June 8, 1773.

WE returned late from the morning's ride, as the all-exploring eye of taste and William's ardour led us somewhat beyond our intentions. My epistle, therefore, being after dinner, eaten with the hunger of an American ranger, will be the shorter, and I fear the duller. I repose on my companion's (William's) pen for giving you the singular charms of humble rocks and Whitlands. It is a delight to see William see nature in her free and wild compositions; and I tell myself, as we go, that the *general mother* is not ashamed of her child. The *particular loved mother* of our promising tribe has sent the sweetest and most encouraging of letters to the young Vauban.⁽¹⁾ His assiduous application to his profession did not allow him to accompany us. He was generously occupied in learning to defend the happy land we were enjoying. Indeed, my life, the promise of our dear children does me more good than the purest of pure air. A most kind inquiry from my *other absent mate*⁽²⁾, kinder than kind, by inquiring with so much interest after Burton. Legs mend, though slowly. I suspect *time* may have some hand in my lameness, though gout is to bear the blame. Our dear soldier is at

⁽¹⁾ Lord Pitt.⁽²⁾ Mr. Hollis, see *post*, p. 273.

lesson, and I undertook to bear harmless his silence of to-day, though I can vouch for his heart, which felt as it ought your most amiable letter. I am quite happy that uncle and cousin saw the drawing. It deserves to be seen, and praise is the true incentive to excel. Pray tell dear little tar⁽¹⁾, that I am in his debt for acquiescing so prettily to the restriction about hunting; and that I am impatient to repay the loss by some safer and fitter pleasure. His letter is quite pretty. Lady Stanhope's letter seems written under the impressions she describes; but it is still like herself, that is, like few besides her. Her lord's amiable zeal to extend the fame of *our youth* quite touches me. I hope Garrick is not to do the part of Audience. John Thomas's wain is in *haste* to begin his *slow* return. So good evening, and every good to my love and her sweet nunnery!

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Lyme Regis, Friday, ten o'clock,
June 11, 1773.

I BEGIN, my love, by thanking you for the good news of your dear letter, the glad tidings of health at Burton; and I hasten to repay the joy you send us by telling you that the Lyme detachment are all well. What, indeed, but health can keep its re-

(1) His son James Charles; who was intended for the navy.

sidence in so pure and delightful a region! Mr. Hollis ⁽¹⁾ came to us on Wednesday, and contrived to show me more beauties in the course of yesterday than I could have discovered without him in a twelvemonth. Amidst all the beauties of creation his own mind holds, by far, the most prominent place. He is the happiest of beings, by dispensing continually happiness to others.

Mr. Hollis remarks the Counsellor's ⁽²⁾ firm accents, and says — "You see how distinct and clear his ideas are." Great part of our tour yesterday in the coach, these two friends of liberty and virtue were *tête-à-tête*, by walking up and down the steep hills while I remained in the carriage. In this kind of converse not only the constitution of the state, but the universal frame of nature, was, I dare say, thoroughly discussed. Mr. Hollis seemed to have a sensible pleasure in pointing out every circumstance of beauty to our intelligent sweet boy, whose behaviour corresponded happily to so much condescension and kindness. Your separation from the Lyme party was frequently regretted, and every piece of good road or moderate mountain mentioned

(1) Thomas Hollis, Esq. of Corseombe. For a notice of him, see Vol. II. p. 200. On the new year's day following, while he was in one of his fields, giving directions to a workman, on a sudden he put his fingers to his forehead, saying, "Richard, I believe the weather is going to change; I am exceedingly giddy." The words were scarcely off his lips, when he fell on his left side, and expired."

(2) His son William; who at this time had just completed his fourteenth year.

with reference to your little chaise. If Mr. Hollis had his regrets, what were mine, not to participate with my love delights she would taste so highly ! Our house is clean and not inconvenient, but wants just another half to hold us all altogether.

Now for our serious distress for a bailiff. ⁽¹⁾ I hardly know what could be more embarrassing in domestic administration. I regret, too, the poor old man for his own sake. I am quite glad that he had the Madeira. If legs would return in a tolerable degree, I should reckon my business here far advanced ; but I am still very lame, though rather gaining ground in activity. The coach is at the door, and this epistle of some length. Embrace the dear girls and little tar for me. I shall count the hours till Podge returns to us again, and cheers our exile.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

London, June 12, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE crimes and frauds of the servants in India, enormous as they appear in the Reports sent your

⁽¹⁾ Lady Chatham says, in her letter of the 10th, " Now comes to what is serious. Old Petty cannot live. The two elder sons are settled, and our Petty will be to take the father's farm, so cannot stay with us. A farm of six hundred pounds a year, stocked, could not be foregone. The last thing the old man has wished for, was some of the Madeira he drank at Burton. I sent him some, from the knowledge of what my love would have done, as well as from my own feelings."

Lordship, are not, I believe, yet fully stated. The Directors, occupied in domestic pursuits equally fraudulent, have produced the effect of accomplices throughout ; while the proprietors, who, as the last resort, ought to be the purest to the objects of their charter, appear the most servile instruments of both, and to have their spirit directed by their several leaders, to answer nothing else than the different purposes of a ministerial market. Nor has there been found as yet, to speak impartially, any where in the House of Commons that firm, even, judicial spirit, capable of administering, much less originating, that justice which the case requires ; and your Lordship will easily imagine the effect of scenes which daily arise there, from the activity and doubleness of the Court operating upon the situation and circumstances of individuals, in an interval when no avowed leader appears on either side, nor no one common object. In the mean time, the public judgment, as is often the case, goes to the right object, though on wrong reasoning. It is generally felt, that the affairs of India are mismanaged ; but the reasons given why they are so are, that charter rights should be inviolable ; that it is the last degree of hardship not to leave men the disposal of their own money, and of the offices and emoluments arising from the distribution of it. While no one proprietor stands out to demand general justice, and the aid of parliament at large for the safety or recovery of his property, but all to act within the narrowest party limits, it is not surprising that the

public should overlook the effect, which any new system will have on the general commerce and government of the kingdom.

Your Lordship will receive enclosed the bill, which has been much altered since the last which was sent to you ; likewise the minutes of the House on Friday. The Duke of Portland made the motions, and was supported by Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Richmond. Lord Dartmouth appears to have the principal conduct of it on the other side. I had a short conversation with Lord Camden the preceding day in the House ; who seemed naturally offended at the proposed mode of proceeding, and almost determined against attending the bill in any stage. Finding myself single, and disapproving the Duke of Richmond's principles on one side in this matter, and the conduct of administration on the other, I took the part of waiting till the House was summoned, and shall then take my chance of submitting to them what occurs to me, as fully as I am able, and the House will permit.

It was the determination of the ministers to carry the bill through before the King goes to Portsmouth. Whether this resolution may have been altered by what passed the same day at the India House ⁽¹⁾ I have not yet learned. In general, I believe whatever power is left in the bill, either to directors or proprietors, will be exerted to counteract whatever

(1) At a numerous meeting of the proprietors of East India stock, held on the 11th, it was agreed to petition the House of Lords to reject the East India Regulation bill.

is proposed by parliament. The Duke of Richmond is positive as to their firmness ; but I, who know them to be as saleable as their stock, can never place much reliance on them. ⁽¹⁾

It may have already reached your Lordship, that Lord North has proposed the place of counsellors in the India commission to many different persons. He offered it, among others, to Mr. Barré and Mr. Cornwall, with some circumstances of darkness and inconsistency, which I do not clearly comprehend ; but both declined decidedly the offer. Some near friends of Lord Rockingham have declared in conversation, that a small part of their connection, consisting of Lord George Germain, Mr. T. Townshend, and some others have, they conceive, made such openings to court, that it is at the King's option whether to take them or not.

I am, most devotedly,

Your Lordship's, &c.

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Lyme Regis, Wednesday, one o'clock,
June 16, 1773.

I HAVE again lost my *mate* ; Mr. Hollis having taken his flight yesterday. He went to Urless,

⁽¹⁾ The East India Regulation bill passed the House of Lords on the 19th, by seventy-four against seventeen.

and proceeds from thence to London for two or three months. The place is a solitude without him. Without the intercourse of love or friendship, how shall I pass the long day! The trial grows severe, and but for our loved boys, I doubt if mere philosophy and the pursuit of health over our cheering hills would supply resolution to persevere. How long I can follow the camp for Pitt, or be commodious to the ladies for William, is to be seen.

I am happy to hear Burton is safe from the discharge of our *blundering* sea-spout. That being so, I must rejoice in the alarm past; as Bradshaw's fears are too comic to have been lost.⁽¹⁾ Our thunder here was very *handy* (in the Somerset tongue) *near*, but no hurt to any. William was reading to me, and no more moved his eye out of the book, than Archimedes left his geometry when the town was stormed. Pitt looked round, but rather as an engineer, to consider if the breach was practicable. How happy that our respective corps continue well, and that they furnish such ample matter of interchanging the praises of their amiable

(1) In reply to a passage in Lady Chatham's letter of the 15th — "Yesterday we had such a deluge, as not even Sealy himself ever '*remembers in all his memory*.' A sea-spout having, in its travels, mistaken our drowned land for sea, poured down upon us with such violence, that all was in alarm — the peachicks in danger of being drowned; Bradshaw afraid his bed would be carried away by the water that poured over it. Between the fear for his family, and the misfortune threatening his apartment, his perplexity was delightful."

behaviour and affectionate attentions! Nothing is wanting to mitigate separation, but a better account of yourself. I trust the return of fine weather will add that blessing to so many others. My health goes on mending, but the limbs continue very weak; so that I cannot as yet discard one crutch. Distribute kisses and blessings to the dear trio, and accept yourself the tender regrets of cruel distance.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Lyme Regis, June 17, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE honour of your kind letter reached me at this place, where I have been about ten days, breathing the purest air imaginable, and pursuing health through paths of amusement over these hills, which abound with striking beauties of nature. I find my limbs already considerably strengthened by frequent riding, and hope soon to discard my crutches.

The melancholy and instructive sketch your Lordship has traced of the spirit which actuates various public bodies and connections of men presents the last symptoms of a decaying state. To palliate inveterate and incurable ills, and procrastinate final ruin, seems the only work now left for the honest and the wise; but how to attain even this

inferior degree of public good is not easy to discern. The bill your Lordship has had the goodness to transmit affords abundant proofs of the deplorable temper of the times. India teems with iniquities so rank, as to smell to earth and heaven. The reformation of them, if pursued in a pure spirit of justice, might exalt the nation, and endear the English name through the world; but the generous purpose is no sooner conceived in the hearts of the few, but by-ends and sinister interests taint the execution, and power is grasped at, where redress should be the only object.

On the other hand, the reigning topics of opposition to the bill are subversive of the most necessary resource in the frame of the constitution for the people's wrongs—the supreme controlling power of parliament. Gross abuses of chartered rights (the favourite phrase), or of the rights of the prerogative, have, in good times, been equally and justly deemed to make no part of charters or of prerogative. Too much tenderness, however, cannot be used in touching charters, without absolute necessity. For this reason, therefore, I should not be willing to innovate in the annual election of directors, or the qualifications of votes according to present charters. As for collusive transfers, they are not defensible on any ground, and the prevention of them fit and right.

The putting under circumscription and control the high and dangerous prerogative of war and alliances, so abused in India, I cannot but approve;

as it shuts the door against such insatiable rapine and detestable enormities, as have, on some occasions, stained the English name, and disgraced human nature. I approve, too, of the nomination of judges by the Crown ; but as they are to hold their offices during pleasure, I cannot consider them as judges, but as dependent instruments of power. The appeal, too, from these servants of power is to the *same power*. What a system of justice ! The King's Bench, I observe, has been abundantly mindful of the maxim of *a good judge to amplify his jurisdiction* ; and it has accordingly armed itself (on conviction) with fine, corporal punishment, and power to incapacitate at discretion.

The abolition of inland trade on private account is highly laudable, as far as that provision goes ; but I would assuredly carry the prohibition further, and open again to the natives and other eastern merchants the inland trade of Bengal, and abolish all monopolies on the Company's account ; which now operate to the unjust exclusion of an oppressed people, and to the impoverishing and alienating of those extensive and populous provinces. The hearts and good affections of Bengal are of more worth, than all the profits of ruinous and odious monopolies. The term of five years seems a dangerous and unnecessary protraction of such high powers, as are lodged in the Governor-General and Council.

I have now insensibly run through the bill, beyond my intention when I sat down to express my

thanks to your Lordship for the honour of your obliging letter. I will only add, on this interesting and most important subject, that, defective and faulty as the regulations appear to me, I cannot help thinking, nevertheless, that an attempt towards reformation, in a case so urgent, does some honour to a minister, and is far more praiseworthy, in my poor judgment, than barring all redress, by the unhappy misapplication of a respectable sound, *chartered rights*, to the most flagrant and ruinous abuses, to the perpetuating and sanctifying unexampled iniquities, and to the extreme risk of the valuable possessions and trade of India.

I am ashamed to look back on the length of these ill-digested remarks; which I should not offer to one so much more master of this great subject without blushing at the freedom I am taking. Such as my sentiments are concerning the important interests of the public, I have a pleasure in imparting to one, who truly feels for that public. Whatever time may best suit your Lordship's convenience for giving us the happiness of seeing you, will always meet my wishes; for I can be at home from Lyme in four hours. I am ever, with truest sentiments of esteem and attachment, my dear Lord Shelburne's

Very affectionate

CHATHAM.

P.S. May I beg my best compliments to Mr. Barré. I honour his rejection of the opening.

THE EARL OF SHELburnE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Bowood Park, June 26, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

I WAS honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 17th, the very evening on which the East India Regulation bill was read a third time. I am happy, however, to have agreed exactly in principle, though I may have somewhat differed from your Lordship in the execution. The petition of the India Company and the opposition of the Duke of Richmond, &c. going against the principle and grounds of the bill, the natural mode of proceeding was to hear their counsel on the second reading, and then debate the bill; but there was no possibility of convincing the Duke of Richmond of the reason of this. He would proceed in a mode entirely his own — that of hearing the counsel on the question, whether the chancellor should leave the chair, then debating the clauses in the committee, proposing afterwards to debate the grounds on the third reading. Finding his determination, I took mine, from a consideration of the coldness and nature of the assembly, more than my own inclinations, to defer any thing I had to say till the third reading.

Accordingly, after a very short debate on the first clause, regarding the duration of the Direction, I divided for it without speaking. It was my intention to act exactly in the same manner, upon the same motives, when the qualification clause

came on, though Lord Talbot as well as the Duke of Richmond made a slight opposition to it ; but Lord Denbigh obliged me to change my plan of silence. In defending it, he chose (with Lord Bute's proxy) to declare, that he was for raising the qualification of all the electors of England. I was thus necessitated to declare my abhorrence of such an alarming plan of policy and such injustice, and to state the true grounds upon which I conceived parliament could alone proceed in such cases, as guardians of charters, whose objects must ever be held sacred, which in the borough of Shoreham was an honest election of representatives, in the case of the India Company an honest administration of the exclusive trade. This led me to state shortly my opinion of the situation of the Company, arising from the misconduct of servants, directors, and acting proprietors ; the necessity for the interference of parliament, in behalf both of the honest proprietors as well as the public. The Duke of Richmond chose to reply, that the Company were in a very good state ; which required as little the interference of parliament as their conduct did its censure, and made some apologies for the part I took. This began an altercation between his Grace and me, which lasted almost the whole of that and the two following days. He gave me repeated opportunities of stating my own conduct ; my endeavours, in and out of the House, to promote a real inquiry in 1767 ; my reasons for the restraining bill then passed to save the prize from plunder ;

&c. The Duke of Grafton afterwards told me, in conversation, that he could witness what I had said as to myself, and that I could do him justice, as to what his wishes were.

When we came to the clause which contained the new appointments, the House suffered me to go into a very large discussion of it. To prevent misrepresentation, as well as because all that passed in the House of Commons had left no very distinct impression, I stated three modes of proceeding, which were all that occurred to me possible :—first, to take the whole into the hands of Government, which could not be, as it would certainly be subversive of the charter, as well as of very questionable policy ; secondly, to leave it entirely in the hands of the Company, making them as responsible as possible ; and, thirdly, to send out a commission to report to parliament as to men and things, which I proposed, as appearing to me far more eligible than the present appointments, which partook of the inconveniences of all three, without any of the advantages.

It is in vain to attempt communicating to your Lordship all that passed ; but I concluded the last day, by giving my vote for the bill, very much upon the general reasoning of your Lordship's letter, which I was honoured with afterwards ; stating, besides the defects I have mentioned, one general defect in the principle of the bill, that of not distinguishing between the trade and revenue ; which was practicable, because they are in their nature separate, and certainly were so in the Mogul go-

vernment. The Duke of Richmond and Lord Rockingham would fain have made it out, that I meant the patronage a boon to the Crown, but I flatter myself that I left that matter as your Lordship would approve.

I do not recollect much more that is material to trouble your Lordship with at present. There are, however, two passages your Lordship should know. I took occasion upon the judges' clause to press their being appointed for life, and expressed my wishes, that the same policy might be extended to America. The subject of America being renewed the last day, Lord Dartmouth, in terms of very great personal civility, declared his determination to support such a proposition for America, and, as I understood him, to place his existence in ministry upon it. I told him afterwards, in conversation, that I would acquaint your Lordship of it; knowing that it would give you real pleasure. The other was a declaration of Lord Rockingham's; who avowed himself the protector of the India Company, *happen what will here or there*, to a renewal even of their charter, upon the same terms of exclusive right.

Mr. Cornwall has acquired a great share of the most solid credit and weight, from altering the whole plan of the loan bill. The ministry proposed that it should be optional, only restraining the Company from making any dividend, if they refused acceptance of the loan; which, composed as they are of wrong-headed, perplexed stock-jobbers, they

were determined to do. He made it obligatory, and gave such satisfaction in the manner, that every set of men applauded it, and acknowledged the justness of his foresight.⁽¹⁾ The ignorance of the ministry in our House was beyond all conception. Upon the whole, the matter is open to be taken up afresh on the largest ground, as both committees are still sitting. Your Lordship's

Most devoted

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Lyme Regis, July 17, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

SOME return of gouty weakness in my hand has prevented me from sooner acknowledging the honour of your Lordship's obliging letter from Bowood, and returning my very particular thanks, for the kind trouble your Lordship was so good as to give yourself, in going into a very instructive and satisfactory detail, on the debate relating to

(1) "The East India Company," says the Annual Register, "presented a petition to the House of Commons, declining to accept of a loan, upon the conditions with which it was intended it should be clogged; lest it should be imagined that they were in any degree accessary to their own destruction. This petition was, however, treated by administration rather as an act of insanity, than a matter that deserved serious consideration; and it was determined to save the Company from ruin in her own despatch, and to force the benevolence of the public upon her against her will."

India affairs.⁽¹⁾ The subject is so complicated and extensive, and opens so vast a field of matter, that no two men can well think alike with regard to all its parts; and more particularly with regard to the correction of abuses and prevention of dangers, in regions as remote from us in manners as in latitude. Modes of remedy must be, in this case, conjectural, and the beginnings of reformation can only amount to an imperfect, rough sketch; which time and candour might bring to more perfection, if men were honestly agreed in principle.

Nothing can be more flattering to my mind, or make me happier, than to know that, in principle, your Lordship and I entirely agree on this most important and difficult subject. The interference of parliament is unquestionably necessary; and the right of parliament to interfere is, by the whole tenor of the constitution, self-evident. India must be reformed, or lost. Force and rapine will not secure and defend it; but justice and force will; — equal, open, independent justice, administered by real judges, who have no masters to serve, but God and their conscience. As to territorial revenues,

(1) Captain Alexander Hood, writing to Lady Chatham on the 19th instant, thus alludes to Lord Shelburne's speech, on the day of the India debate: — "Mr. William Lyttelton, who is not apt to mistake, or to misrepresent, told me, that Lord Shelburne never spoke finer in his life, or ever stronger in praise of Lord Chatham. He called upon the House to remember what that great minister intended to do, for the support of the Company, for the honour of the Crown, and for the benefit of the public, when he was last in the King's service. It was universally said, that Lord Shelburne showed more knowledge in the affairs of India, than all the ministers in either House."

they should go between the Company and the public, in due proportions. If the Crown is to seize them, through the medium of a House of Commons, there is an end of the shadow of liberty. English kings would become moguls ; rich, splendid, weak ; gold would be, fatally, substituted in the place of trade, industry, liberty, and virtue. We shall have conquered ourselves, when we might, by a wise use of victory, have lastingly established true, national felicity on the ruins of the House of Bourbon. But Heaven avert these forebodings ! I rejoice that America, at least, has a chance to have independent judges. Poor Asia may, perhaps, have her turn ; she wants them more, being more polluted with vice and guilt ; at the same time that, for this very reason, she deserves the blessing far less than our free-born kinsmen of the new world. Lord Dartmouth does himself honour, by this just and liberal sentiment.

A thousand thanks, my dear Lord, for the Russian ultimatum, which I had not seen : the terms seem to me not excessive, considering the decided superiority of the Russian virtue over the Ottoman degeneracy. If the three dividing powers continue united, the Porte must receive the law of the conqueror, and the Turkish seas open their recesses to the Russian navies—a new and most memorable epoch, at which the House of Bourbon may tremble. I am ever, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and affectionate

Humble servant,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THOMAS HOLLIS, ESQ. ⁽¹⁾

Burton Pynsent, July 29, 1773.

WHAT thanks to Mr. Hollis can be enough, for giving to read immortal Buchanan, “*De Jure Regni*,” a volume, small in bulk, but big in matter⁽²⁾; even all the length and breadth, and depth and height, of “that great argument,” which the first geniuses and master-spirits of the human race have asserted so nobly! From him, *ceux* *fontes perenni*, they have all drunk; and happiest who has drunk the deepest! How due the honours paid to such a name! Freedom looks down, well-pleased, upon the happy spot, to contemplate the truest of her sons, strewing the pious oak leaf over the deathless memory of the long-departed Buchanan. Could a second have sprung from the same

⁽¹⁾ See *antè*, p. 269.

⁽²⁾ This celebrated compendium of political philosophy appeared in 1579, and was principally composed by Buchanan, with a view to instruct his royal pupil, afterwards James the First of England, in what belonged to his office. The origin of the work is thus detailed, in the dedication to that monarch:—“Several years ago, when our affairs were in a most turbulent condition, I composed a dialogue on the prerogatives of the Scottish crown, in which I endeavoured to explain, from their very cradle, if I may adopt that expression, the reciprocal rights and privileges of kings and their subjects. I have sent it you, not only as a monitor, but even as an importunate dun, who, in this turn of life, may convey you beyond the rocks of adulation, and confine you to the path which you have entered. If you obey this monitor, you will insure tranquillity to yourself and to your subjects, and will transmit a brilliant reputation to the most remote posterity.”

country, what humiliations had been saved to poor England!

May your journey to town be prosperous, and your return from the polluted capital be speedy! I have honoured my own name by writing it, where you so kindly wished.⁽¹⁾—Lady Chatham, who is just setting out for Lyme, to come back to-morrow, desires to present her best compliments.

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT⁽²⁾ TO THE EARL
OF CHATHAM.

Pembroke Hall, Friday morning,
October 8, 1773.

I HAVE the pleasure of writing to my dear father, after having breakfasted upon college rolls, and

(1) It would appear, that Mr. Hollis had lent a copy of Buchanan's work to Lord Chatham, with a request, that, previously to returning it, his Lordship would write his name in it. The safe receipt of the little volume is thus acknowledged by Mr. Hollis:—"The copy of the *De Jure*, which is now perfect and invaluable by the extreme courtesy of the Earl of Chatham, will travel again to London, and take rank among that collection of books, by old original English, Scottish, and Irish authors upon government, which T. H., assisted by his friends, had the honour to form in the days of his *energie*, and which, in some respects, he deems matchless."

(2) "Mr. Pitt," says Bishop Tomline, "when about six years old, was placed under the tuition of the reverend Edward Wilson, afterwards prebendary of Gloucester and canon of Windsor, who attended him at Lord Chatham's house; and this mode of education was continued eight years, during half at least of which period his health was so indifferent, as to render him unable to apply to any serious study. But not-

made some acquaintance with my new quarters, which seem, on the short examination I have given, neat and convenient. But before I apply myself to any other employment, I make use of broken minutes, to inform you of our⁽¹⁾ being seated within these venerable walls.

Our journey from the place at which I had the happiness of addressing a letter for Burton Pynsent has been accomplished with much ease. By reaching Hartford Bridge the second night, we had abundance of time upon our hands, so that we might have reached our goal the fourth night; but it was judged better to come in, in a morning, that we might have the day before us to settle in our new habitation. To make out our five days, we took the road by Binfield, and called in upon Mr. Wilson's curate there; who soon engaged with his rector⁽²⁾ in a most vehement controversy, and supported his opinions with Ciceronian action and flaming eyes.

withstanding this loss of time, the progress he made in learning was such, that, in the year 1773, his father, designing the law to be his profession, determined to send him, for the completion of his education, to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. He was admitted in the spring of that year, and went to reside in the beginning of the following October." — *Life*, vol. i. p. 2.

(¹) "On account of the private manner," continues the Bishop, "in which Mr. Pitt had been hitherto educated, his tender age, and the extreme delicacy of his constitution, it was thought right, that Mr. Wilson should live with him for a few weeks in the same college apartment; without, however, having any concern in the direction of his studies."

(²) Mr. Wilson was, for thirty years, rector of Binfield; where Pope spent his youthful days, and wrote his Windsor Forest.

Our road from thence to Staines was through Windsor Forest and Park, &c. and was a very agreeable drive. We slept last night at Barkway, where we learnt that Pembroke was a sober, staid college, and nothing but solid study there. I find, indeed, we are to be grave in apparel, as even a silver button is not allowed to sparkle along our quadrangles, &c.; so that my hat is soon to be stripped of its glories, in exchange for a plain loop and button.

I must beg you to pardon all the irregularities of this hasty epistle, as it has been frequently broken off by the intervention of tailor, hosier, hatter, sempstress, and others; and since by the obliging visits of many of the fellows of the college, who inquired after you and all at Burton Pynsent: they were in great hopes to have had the pleasure of Pitt's company here, and many other civilities. I have not yet seen Dr. Brown; he not being at present in college, but is expected every hour. Among others, the proctor has called upon me: this first was a friendly visit, and may, perhaps, be considered as a good omen.

I have nothing more to add, but duty and love in abundance to my mother and brothers and sisters; some of whom will, I hope, convey for me the kindest remembrance to Mrs. Sparry.

I am, my dear father,

Your most dutiful

And affectionate son,

WILLIAM PITT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE HONOURABLE
WILLIAM PITT.

Burton Pynsent, October 9, 1773.

THURSDAY'S post brought us no letter from the dear traveller : we trust this day will prove more satisfactory. It is the happy day that gave us your brother⁽¹⁾, and will not be less in favour with all here, if it should give us, about four o'clock, an epistle from my dear William. By that hour, I reckon, we shall be warm in our cups, and shall not fail to pour forth, with renewed joy, grateful libations over the much wished tidings of your prosperous progress towards your destination. We compute, that yesterday brought you to the venerable aspect of Alma Mater, and that you are invested to-day with the *toga virilis*. Your race of manly virtue and useful knowledge is now begun ; and may the favour of Heaven smile upon the noble career !

Little Beckford⁽²⁾ was really disappointed at not being in time to see you—a good mark for my young *vivid* friend. He is just as much compounded of the elements of *air* and *fire* as he was. A due proportion of *terrestrial* solidity will, I trust, come and make him perfect. How happy, my loved boy, is it, that your mamma and I can tell

(1) The birth-day of Lord Pitt ; who completed his seventeenth year.

(2) Lord Chatham's godson, the present William Beckford, Esq. See Vol. II. p. 11.

ourselves, there is at Cambridge, *one* without a beard, “and all the elements so mixed in him, that Nature might stand up and say, This is a man !”

I now take leave for to-day, not meaning this for what James calls a *regular* letter, but a flying thought, that wings itself towards my absent William. Horses are ready, and all is birthday. Bradshaw has shone, this auspicious morning, in a very fine speech of congratulation ; but I foresee “his sun sets weeping in the lowly west ;” that is, a fatal bowl of punch will, before night, quench this luminary of oratory.

Adieu, again and again, sweet boy ; and if you acquire health and strength, every time I wish them to you, you will be a second Samson ; and, what is more, will, I am sure, keep your hair.

Every good wish attends your kind fellow-traveller, and *chum* ; nor will he be forgot in our flowing bowls to-day.

[The following is added in Lady Chatham’s handwriting.]

If more could be said expressive of feelings, my dearest dear boy, I would add a letter to this epistle ; but as it is composed, I will only sign to its expressive contents,

Your fond and loving mother,

HESTER CHATHAM.

MAJOR-GENERAL CARLETON⁽¹⁾ TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Rottingdean, October 12, 1773.

MY LORD,

I AM too much flattered by what I learn through Lord Shelburne, not to testify to your Lordship my great satisfaction at the choice you have made of the forty-seventh regiment for Lord Pitt, and your approbation of his accompanying me to America.⁽²⁾ With sincerity I assure your Lordship, that it will afford me great happiness, should I prove fortunate enough to be of essential service to your son, and this, whether I consider him as a person we reasonably may expect to become a great and useful subject, or as it may afford some proof of the high esteem, with which I truly am, my Lord,

Your most obedient

And most humble servant,

GUY CARLETON.

(1) Major-General Carleton had, during the preceding year, been appointed governor of Canada. In 1776, he was nominated a knight of the bath ; in 1781, appointed commander-in-chief in America ; and in 1786, again appointed governor of Quebec, and elevated to the peerage, by the title of Lord Dorchester. He died in 1808, in his eighty-fifth year.

(2) In a letter to Lady Stanhope, dated March 23, 1774, Lord Chatham says, "the time draws nigh for our dear Pitt joining his regiment at Quebec. What pain to part with him ! and what satisfaction to see him go in so manly a manner — just in the age of pleasures !"

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO GENERAL CARLETON.

[From a rough draught in Lord Chatham's handwriting.]

October 15, 1773.

SIR,

I AM honoured with your letter of the 12th instant, and seize with impatience the first opportunity the post gives, to express the just sense I have of the very friendly and kind sentiments you are so good as to entertain towards me and mine. Nothing could be so flattering to my wishes and hopes for my son, as to see him enter the career of a profession his choice has led him to embrace, under your auspices. Your expressions on his subject are highly flattering; and I hope he will aspire to be not undeserving of your countenance. My son's ambition is to become a real officer; and I trust that he already affixes to the appellation all the ideas that go to constitute a true title to that name. He is aware how much is to be learned, read, seen, and done, before he can tell himself he is an officer; and my satisfaction will be complete, in seeing him placed where all those wants can be best supplied.

He will be too proud and happy in accompanying General Carleton to America, if that may be, without too much loss of self-convenience to yourself and family in the voyage. With regard to an ensigncy in your regiment, which you are so good as to allow, may I entreat your advice concerning the means? Should I trouble Lord Barrington with

my desire to purchase an ensigncy in the forty-seventh, or wait the favour of your own obliging directions therein? I feel how far I am trespassing upon your goodness, by asking new favours when I meant to return thanks and acknowledgments for the greatest already received; which I beg you to accept, for the sincerity and warmth with which they are offered.

I am, with truest esteem, Sir, &c. &c.

CHATHAM.

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Pembroke Hall, October 15, 1773.

MY dear father will, I hope, believe that nothing could make me more happy than his kind and pleasing letter, and is I trust assured, that its flattering contents must incite me to labour in *manly* virtue and *useful knowledge*, that I may be, on some future day, worthy to follow, *in part*, the glorious example always before my eyes.

How ill-timed was the neglect of the post, that should damp with any degree of anxiety the rejoicings on the happy ninth of October! Our thoughts as ardently hailed the auspicious day, as your renowned western Luminary; who, I trust, by the next morning, though he sunk that night probably in a bowl of punch,

“Had trick’d his beams, and with new-spangled ore
Flamed in the forehead of the morning sky,”

Sunday being the day which he usually celebrates in the gold waistcoat.

Lectures in Quintilian will shortly call me away from the pleasure of writing to you ; so that I shall be able to add but little more. You see by this, that I am now settled to business, and the tutors ⁽¹⁾ make a favourable, I fear a partial, report to the master ; who has obligingly taken the trouble of hearing me himself, and, I trust, is not wholly dissatisfied. Health smiles on my studies, and a college life grows every day more and more agreeable.

I received yesterday another most kind letter

(1) "Lord Chatham wrote a letter to the Master of the college, in which he expressed a desire, that each of the two public tutors, who were then Mr. Turner * and myself, would devote an hour in every day to his son. This plan was accordingly adopted. Although he was little more than fourteen years of age when he went to reside at the university, and had laboured under the disadvantage of frequent ill health, the knowledge which he then possessed was very considerable ; and in particular, his proficiency in the learned languages was probably greater than ever was acquired by any other person in such early youth. In Latin authors he seldom met with difficulty ; and it was no uncommon thing for him to read into English six or seven pages of Thucydides, which he had not previously seen, without more than two or three mistakes, and sometimes without even one. It was by Lord Chatham's particular desire, that Thucydides was the first Greek book which Mr. Pitt read after he came to college. The only other wish, ever expressed by his Lordship, relative to his son's studies, was, that I would read Polybius with him." — *Bishop Tomline*, vol. i. p. 3.

* Afterwards master of Pembroke Hall, and Dean of Norwich.

from Burton ; for which I am infinitely obliged. I was very sorry to find, that any thing of gout was felt, but I hope all those sensations are, before now, perfectly dispersed. I was in hopes to have had a few minutes to write to my dear mother, and thank her for her letter ; but I find I must defer it till the next post. I therefore beg leave to trouble you with my duty to her, as well as love to brothers and sisters : many thanks to the latter for their obliging epistles : which I wish I had time to answer. I am, my dear father, your ever dutiful

And affectionate son,

WILLIAM PITT.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Berkeley Square, Sunday night,
October 17, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

WHEN I wrote last I mentioned nothing to your Lordship about Ireland, notwithstanding Lord Besborough⁽¹⁾ had written to me to Bowood, that he knew administration had determined, in case a bill come from Ireland taxing the estates of non-residents, to pass it here.⁽²⁾ Though I have the

⁽¹⁾ William, second Lord Ponsonby, and second Earl of Besborough. His Lordship died in 1793, and was succeeded by the present Earl.

⁽²⁾ Early in the ensuing session, a motion was made in the Irish House of Commons by Mr. Flood, that a tax of two shillings in the pound should be laid on the net rents and annual

highest consideration for Lord Besborough, the measure appearing incredibly unjust and impolitic, I own I wrote his Lordship a very civil answer, without giving the smallest credit in my own mind to his intelligence. It turns out, however, very true; and now the fact is ascertained, I profess to your Lordship I am entirely lost in endeavouring to account for the motives or consequences of it. I naturally distrust my own judgment, where I am so deeply interested; and, at any rate, I should be sorry to pay a greater regard to myself than becomes a liberal man, or may be likely to meet the public; who are not too apt to extend their feelings, even in cases of oppression, where the case does not exactly apply to the whole, or a majority of the whole. Your Lordship is likewise interested in it; but you not only know yourself, but are known; and I need not say, every word of judgment from your Lordship will have its due weight, especially upon me.

I send your Lordship the last American publication, on account of a Preface written by Dr. Franklin⁽¹⁾; and to make my packet up in bulk,

profits of all landed proprietors in Ireland, to be paid by all persons who should not actually reside in the kingdom for the space of six months in each year, from Christmas 1773, to Christmas 1774. The measure had, for some time, been generally favoured by the people of Ireland.

(¹) This was a preface to "The Votes and Proceedings of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of Boston, in Town-meeting assembled."

I add a ridiculous church pamphlet, at the risk of Dr. Price and Dr. Priestley's displeasure, were they to know it; for if it is not written by a false brother, it is certainly the production of a very eccentric one. I have the honour to be, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most obliged and

Devoted servant,
SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Burton Pynsent, October 20, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

I ADDRESS this letter at a venture to Berkeley Square, not knowing with certainty where your Lordship may be. I think it not improbable you may be got to Bowood, and that your Lordship may be, even as your humble servant, tending your flocks, or following the plough. The interval is long to the meeting of parliament, and the town as yet a complete desert; even the city is, I imagine, quiet, the equinoctial storms of a Lord Mayor being over.

Towards the Danube, the convulsions of the world are a little more serious, and the moment is big with most important events. I need not add how anxious I am till they come forth; for your Lordship well knows I am quite a Russ. I trust

the Ottoman will pull down the house of Bourbon in his fall. Pray God, Hindostan, under the present plan, may not bury Old England in its incurable disorders and inextricable confusions.

I am ever my dear Lord Shelburne's most faithful and affectionate,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Burton Pynsent, October 24, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE Irish business has given employment to my thoughts, almost ever since I received your Lordship's letter; and I confess I hardly ever found my mind more suspended between contrary weights of important objections, on either side. You attribute, my dear Lord, too much to your humble servant's judgment in all matters; and more especially in the measure in question, respecting a country your Lordship knows in its full extent, and in which you have so large a stake; more remotely, I may consider my family as having some. This circumstance, as it might render me less fit, renders me less willing to hazard my own judgment; but your Lordship's wish to know my sentiments is too flattering to my mind, to be able to resist so honourable a command.

My opinion, then, after weighing again and again the whole matter, is, that it is most advisable not to meddle in urging the royal prerogative to reject the bill for taxing absentees, should such a bill be sent over. The operation of the bill is excessively severe, no doubt, against absentees; but the principle of that severity seems founded in strong Irish policy; which is to compel more of the product of the improved estates of that kingdom to be spent by the possessors there, amongst their tenants, and in their own consumptions, rather than here in England, and in foreign parts. England, it is evident, profits by draining Ireland of the vast incomes spent here from that country. But I could not, as a peer of England, advise the King on principles of indirect, accidental English policy, to reject a tax on absentees, sent over here, as the genuine desire of the Commons of Ireland, acting in their proper and peculiar sphere, and exercising their inherent, exclusive right, by raising supplies in the manner they judge best. This great principle of the constitution is so fundamental, and, with me, so sacred and indispensable, that it outweighs all other considerations.

This is, my dear Lord, the best result I have been able to gather, by attentively considering this important subject. The matter is extensive and very complicated, involving a variety of questions, which are beside my present view; namely, what is it my duty to do, in advising the sovereign, with regard to the just exercise of the prerogative? The

place for opposition to the measure in question seems to me, to be no other than Ireland itself. There, the exertions of all the weight of the absentees would be natural and constitutional: here, I confess, I cannot applaud them, if applied to constrain the Crown to reject the desires of the Commons of Ireland, with regard to the supplies.

After being tedious, on the foregoing subject, allow me now, my dear Lord, to come to the two very different publications you were so good as to send me. That from America is a most serious and alarming perspective. I hope government will have wisdom and humanity enough to choose the happy alternative; and give to America a constitutional representative, rather than hazard an unjust and impracticable war.

Mr. Franklin's preface is important, considering the sobriety and worthiness of that gentleman's character. Your church pamphlet is not of so serious a nature; the author has certainly very lively parts, and an ingenious pen, but he is a most singular apostle — Paul reversed: *he* was the apostle of the Gentiles, in order to make them Christians; *this* luminary is to show those who sit in the darkness of the Gospel how to form a church of infidels, and to substitute the President of the Royal Society in the place of the poor Archbishop of Canterbury; and send our worthy and learned friend Dr. Price, with his declaration, to be instructed by the enlightened sons of the Koran and the Synagogue. Your Lordship will think me a very

notable divine, and our pleasant latitudinarian, whoever he be, would, notwithstanding his tolerating spirit, excommunicate me for a hypocrite or a simpleton. A-propos of divines and bishops, I am charmed and edified by the Sermon on America, preached by the Bishop of St. Asaph.⁽¹⁾ This noble discourse speaks the preacher, not only fit to bear rule in the church, but in the state; indeed, it does honour to the right reverend bench. I am your Lordship's most obliged and affectionate

Humble servant,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

London, Sunday, October 31, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

I CERTAINLY wanted no proof of your Lordship's friendship or of its importance: if I had, the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 24th would have been sufficient. I must at the same time own, that the

(¹) Dr. Jonathan Shipley. He was promoted to the see of St. Asaph, on the death of Bishop Newcombe, in 1769; in which he remained till his death in 1788. The sermon to which Lord Chatham alludes is the one preached in February 1773, before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, from Luke, ch. ii. v. 14., "Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men."

light your Lordship views the measure in, though it did not strike me quite so strongly at first, is a most important one. We have owed, and must continue to owe, every thing to our form of government, of which the right of the Commons to raise supplies is the most fundamental and indispensable pillar. At any rate, I had not a moment's hesitation in ceding to your Lordship's opinion, from no motive of compliment or prudence; for I am perfectly sensible, from my own feelings towards my friends in cases of difference what your Lordship's must be, from whose fountain I have acquired the little pretension I have to liberality of sentiment; but from a very real deference to your Lordship's judgment and experience; and I have taken my measures accordingly.

Lord Rockingham has called here twice, and I have called upon him as often upon this business. I took occasion the last time to tell him, to prevent the possibility of the least disappointment in my conduct, that I should certainly be very much governed by your Lordship's opinion, and, whatever my first impressions might have been, should lend a willing mind to your reasoning on the subject, for very obvious reasons. I told him further, in general terms, that I had reason to believe your Lordship's opinion to be, that Ireland was the proper place for opposition to the measure, and that here it became a very different question, whether to advise the Crown to reject the desire of the Irish Commons in matter of supplies. I desired it might be in confidence, as I was not accustomed to say more than

what regarded myself, except when particularly desired. He expressed great surprise, apprehended that if any measure could produce general union, and draw a person from the country, it must be this, which from daily conversations and accounts; as well as from the nature of it, could not fail to interest and animate the whole kingdom. He concluded by supposing, that either my impetuosity or over-warmth, or some defect in the statement of the question, could alone have given such an inclination to your Lordship's judgment, and that upon a fuller state and further consideration you might come to adopt a different judgment. I entered as lightly as I could into this part; content to answer my own object, and desirous to commit your Lordship's opinion as little as possible without your particular desire.

I shall take care to inform your Lordship further, as this business proceeds. The present accounts from Ireland are different, some that it will pass the House of Commons, others not. All agree, that it will be pushed, and I should myself suppose carried. Lord Mayor tells me that he finds the flame likely to catch within the city, where all the companies are interested, and many small individuals. Lord Rockingham tells me that he has made a list of upwards of a hundred persons of considerable property.

I have felt most exceedingly for your Lordship and Lady Chatham, on account of the news from Cambridge, and long as this letter is, should make

it much longer, if I could contribute to hasten the wished-for recovery. I am, my dear Lord, with truest devotion, your obliged and most faithful

Humble servant,

SHELburnE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELburnE.

Burton Pynsent, November 4, 1773.

MY DEAR LORD,

I CANNOT lose a moment to answer the most obliging letter from your Lordship of the 31st past, on a subject which extremely interests my mind, both from its own high importance, and from the undeserved weight attributed by your Lordship's friendship to a judgment, in no degree preferable to your own. I am also unfeignedly sorry to find my view of the mode and scene of opposition to the tax depending now in Ireland widely at variance with the opinion of Lord Rockingham, and the other signing peers, whose general principles I highly respect, and whose feelings, on this particular occasion, I cannot wonder at.

I have again revised, and weighed with the most impartial exactness, the opinion I ventured to offer to your Lordship, in my former answer to the letter you honoured me with, on this nice and seducing subject. My own mind, I confess, is not quite free from bias in favour of absentees, having two fami-

lies of very near relations, a nephew and a cousin-german, possessed of considerable estates in land in Ireland. My judgment, such as it is, I feel to be quite pure, and I have nothing to walk by, but a cool, sincere conviction of my duty. The fitness or justice of the tax in question, I shall not consider, if the Commons of Ireland send it here; I can only ask myself this single question in that case, What ought I to advise the Crown to do with it? The line of the constitution—a line written in the broadest letter, through every page of the history of parliament and people—tells me, that the Commons are to judge of the propriety and expediency of supplies. All opposition to be made to them is in its place, during the pendency of any such bill, by petition, or by members in the House; or for repeal, if inconvenience be found to result from a tax: but to advise the Crown to substitute, in the first instance, the opinion of the taxed in the place of the judgment of the representative body, repugns to every principle I have been able to form to myself, concerning the wise distribution of powers lodged by the constitution in various parts respectively of the legislature. This power of the purse in the Commons is fundamental, and inherent; to translate it from them to the King in Council, is to annihilate parliament. The load, too, to be laid on the Crown, by rejecting supplies, in such an exigency of Ireland, does, I confess, appear to me too hard to be imposed. A provision for their national debt, the restoration of public credit

in Ireland, and furnishing to the course of urgent, current services there, all defeated by such a rejection, and the endless confusions that may ensue, all to be at the door of the King! Had a timely opposition been made in Ireland, and proved successful, no harm could have happened; all would have been in the line of the constitution, and the Commons would, in good temper, have applied themselves to look for, and pass some other tax, in lieu of that thrown out: but once reject what they send you, who can answer for their disposition, or their despatch in sending some other provision adequate to the necessities of the times in that country?

I have now, my dear Lord, tired you, I fear, a second time with a prolix repetition of the same principles and reasonings from them. They are, indeed, principles, and so fixed, as to save me from a blush, should Lord Rockingham's conjectures prove true, concerning the general union of sentiments through the whole kingdom, on this subject. My concern will only be for your Lordship, suffering in your property, to which the liberality of your sentiments so easily reconciled you; and at the same time, perhaps, clouded in your popularity, by attributing more weight to the judgment of a retired friend, than his experience, or lights, can in any degree entitle him to.

I cannot close this anxious subject, without expressing my warmest thanks for the extreme attentions your Lordship was so kind as to place, in the manner and degree of communicating my opinions

to Lord Rockingham; apprized as his Lordship is, by that communication, of my view of the mode of opposing this, or any tax, will probably prevent any intercourse on his part towards me. If his Lordship should wish to know, how far my notions are fixed, and on what foundations, regarding this nice business, your Lordship will, if you please, think yourself at full liberty to satisfy the Marquis's curiosity; and I know the principles which have decided my judgment, and over-weighed so many striking and animating topics, as enter into this large field of matter, will rather gain than lose by passing through so partial and generous a representer.

Our last accounts from Cambridge were, I thank God, favourable enough to render me capable of writing so long, or thinking with due tranquillity. A speedy recovery to perfect health we are not allowed to expect; but our worthy Dr. Addington has filled us with comfort, by assuring us our dear boy is in a perfect good way, and that his future health may be benefited by this effort of nature.⁽¹⁾ Your kind feelings, my dear Lord, on this affecting

(1) "The serious illness," says Bishop Tomline, "with which Mr. Pitt was attacked, soon after he went to the university, and which confined him nearly two months, and at last reduced him to so weak a state, that after he was convalescent, he was four days in travelling to London, seems to have been a crisis in his constitution. By great attention to diet, to exercise, and to early hours, he gradually gained strength, without any relapse, or material check; and his health became progressively confirmed. At the age of eighteen he was a healthy man; and he continued so for many years."

subject, can never be forgot. Believe me ever, my dear Lord, with warmest returns of every affectionate and respectful sentiment,

Your Lordship's faithfully devoted

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE HONOURABLE
WILLIAM PITT.

Burton Pynsent, October 30, 1773.

WITH what ease of mind and joy of heart I write to my loved William, since Mr. Wilson's comfortable letter of Monday! I do not mean to address you as a sick man. I trust in Heaven that *convalescent* is the only title I am to give you in the ailing tribe; and that you are now enjoying the happy advantage of Dr. Glynn's acquaintance, as one of the cheerful and witty sons of Apollo, in his poetic, not his medical attribute. (¹) But though I indulge, with

(¹) Dr. Robert Glynn, fellow of the college of physicians. He first practised at Richmond, and afterwards at Cambridge; where he continued till his death, in 1800. In 1757, he obtained the Seatonian prize for a poetical essay on the Day of Judgment. Mr. Pitt offered him the professional chair; which the Doctor thought proper to decline, in consequence of his advanced age. His life is described as being one uniform course of integrity and benevolence. The author of the *Pursuits of Literature*, in applying the following couplet to him —

“Lo! Granta hails (what need the sage to name?)

Her lov'd Iapis on the banks of Cam” —

adds, “I wish that this great, disinterested, virtuous, and consummate scholar and physician, may be known by this affectionate verse to all posterity.”

inexpressible delight, the thought of your returning health, I cannot help being a little in pain, lest you should make more haste than good speed, to be well. Your mamma has been before me, in suggesting that most useful proverb, “*reculer pour mieux sauter*,” useful to all, but to the ardent, necessary. You may, indeed, my sweet boy, better than any one practise this sage dictum, without any risk of being *thrown out* (as little James would say) in the chase of learning. All you want, at present, is quiet ; with this, if your ardour *αριστερευειν* can be kept in, till you are stronger, you will make noise enough. How happy the task, my noble amiable boy, to caution you only against pursuing too much, all those liberal and praiseworthy things, to which less happy natures are perpetually to be spurred and driven !

I will not tease you with too long a lecture in favour of *inaction*, and a competent *stupidity*, your two best tutors and companions at present. You have time to spare : consider there is but the *Encyclopedia* ; and when you have mastered all that, what will remain ? You will want, like Alexander, another world to conquer. Your mamma joins me in every word ; and we know how much your affectionate mind can sacrifice to our earnest and tender wishes. Brothers and sisters are well ; all feel about you, think and talk of you, as they ought. My affectionate remembrances go in great abundance to Mr. Wilson. *Vive, vale*, is the unceasing prayer of your truly loving father,

CHATHAM.

THE REV. DR. BROWN ⁽¹⁾ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Pembroke Hall, November 26, 1773.

MY LORD,

GIVE me leave to begin my letter with my best congratulations, that Mr. Pitt's recovery is thus far advanced; and though the progress of it is not so quick as all who know him must wish, yet it is a comfort that, unfavourable as the weather hath been of late, the amendment of his health hath now continued for several days, and that his physician and friends about him still pronounce he is growing better and better. I feel that comfort upon his account, upon your Lordship's, and our own.

I trust your Lordship will believe me very sensible of the honour of your letter, which I received by your son. In this confidence I deferred the answer at first, till I could have seen your son in various lights, which the stay he intended to make among us might admit of, and till I could write from some experience of my own. Indeed, notwithstanding his illness, I have myself seen, and have heard enough

(1) Master of Pembroke Hall, and vice-chancellor. Cole, in his MS. *Athenæ Cantab.*, says of him, — "He is a very worthy man, a good scholar, small, and short-sighted: at Christmas 1779, he will be seventy, though as lively and as active as a young boy of twenty; when I say lively, I mean as to spirits and activity, for his short-sightedness casts a gloom over his countenance." Gray, with whom he was very intimate, and at whose death he was present, used to call him "*le petit bon homme*," and appointed him, with Mr. Mason, his joint executor and residuary legatee. The Doctor died in 1784.

from his tutors, to be convinced both of his extraordinary genius and most amiable disposition ; and there is one particular ingredient in that disposition very favourable to the best expectations of his friends — that he is inclined to listen with the greatest attention to those who are most anxious for his welfare, and will be most happy in his success. I hope he will return safe to his parents, and that we shall receive him again in a better and more confirmed state of health. He will engage the attention and esteem of all who shall be concerned in the care of him. Mr. Wilson hath set them a good example, and I am persuaded his tutors here will follow it, upon motives both of duty and affection. He promises fair, indeed, to be one of those extraordinary persons, whose eminent parts, equalled by as eminent industry, continue in a progressive state throughout their lives. Such persons appear to be formed by Heaven to assist and bless mankind ; and should Mr. Pitt ever attain to this supreme excellence of man, amongst other praises posterity will commend him for following so well the pattern which nature had made the primary object of his imitation.

I am, my Lord, with a deep sense of the trust your Lordship hath reposed in us, and of the honour of that trust, your Lordship's most obliged and obedient humble servant,

JAMES BROWN.

THE REV. JOHN LETTICE⁽¹⁾ TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Fonthill, December 11, 1773.

MY LORD,

YOUR Lordship's condescension allowing me the honour of addressing you, from time to time, on the subject of Mr. Beckford's education, I am happy in an opportunity of making the first letter I send you the conveyance of such information, as I flatter myself will not discredit my charge : and it is with the greater pleasure I shall give your Lordship any advantageous account of our proceedings, as I am greatly indebted for it to the good effect of your own advice. The scene of my own education abounded with instances of the happy influence which those closer studies, you

(1) Lord Chatham had selected this excellent man and distinguished scholar to be private preceptor to his godson, at this time in his fourteenth year; in which capacity, he was afterwards intrusted by Mr. Beckford with the superintendence of the education of his daughter, the present Duchess of Hamilton. In 1785, he was inducted to the living of Peasmarch, in the gift of Sidney College, and shortly after was presented with a prebendal stall in Chichester cathedral. In 1764, he obtained the Seatonian prize for a poem on the Conversion of St. Paul, and translated into blank verse Mr. Hawkins Browne's Latin poem on the Immortality of the Soul. In 1773, he published, jointly with his friend Professor Martyr, "The Antiquities of Herculaneum," and in 1792, a "Tour through various Parts of Scotland." He further published, after he had attained his eightieth year, "Fables for the Fire Side," and "Miscellaneous Pieces on Sacred Subjects in Prose and Verse;" and died in 1832, having nearly completed his ninety-fifth year.

were pleased to recommend to my pupil, acquire over the mind in our more advanced stage of youth ; but nothing less than their unexampled success at an earlier period, of which I found such illustrious proofs in your Lordship's own family, would have convinced me it was practicable to adopt so severe a plan, at the age in which it was wished my charge should make the experiment. It was likely that our first setting out in this thorny path should prove rather irksome to so warm an imagination ; and so, indeed, it happened : but we had been at Burton, and were fired by example too much to retreat, though little charmed with the rugged prospect before us. It is true, that for some time we scarcely took a single step on mathematical ground without stumbling, and I fear we trod but tenderly when we were last at Burton ; but since our return, I have had the satisfaction of concluding, that the good impressions Mr. Beckford received there have had a lasting effect, from the unusual attention with which he has lately applied himself that way ; an attention, which has been by no means unsuccessful, and which promises much in his favour.

He has likewise read one third part of the Essay on Human Understanding, and I believe not unprofitably ; as I call upon him for an account of every paragraph as soon as he has read it ; which he generally gives me with much facility. The habit of frequently tracing the footsteps of so regular and clear a reasoner as Mr. Locke through the course

of an argument may, it is hoped, be no ineffectual method of learning to set his own thoughts in the best order, and to express them with perspicuity; and perhaps this would be a point gained, much to be wished; that of making a gentleman think and speak with precision without the pedantry of art.

Your Lordship's advice on the article of arithmetic was too pressing to suffer me to defer a trial of Mr. Beckford's talent for numbers; and I may say, that the little time which he has been able to dedicate to them has been well employed, and I do not despair of his becoming a proficient. The cultivation of our own language and studies of the politer kind are by no means neglected; though they are not to be preferred to the others; inasmuch as we must look upon taste and sentiment as acquisitions of less importance, than the right use of reason. Mr. Beckford may, however, name Homer, Livy, Cicero, and Horace, among his present classical acquaintance, and he is every day becoming more intimate with them.

I assure myself it will give your Lordship pleasure to be informed that, about a month ago, that splendid heap of oriental drawings, &c. which filled a large table at Burton, has been sacrificed at the shrine of good taste. Mr. Beckford had firmness enough to burn them with his own hand. I hope, that as his judgment grows maturer, it will give me an opportunity of acquainting your Lordship with other sacrifices to the same power.

As your Lordship's goodness has authorised me

to beg your advice in any case which concerns my charge, I should be happy if I might be favoured with your sentiments on the subject of Latin composition. I cannot determine whether it be of real necessity, when so many other objects, seemingly indispensable, claim our time and attention, and which cannot be equally pursued, if this be judged necessary to partake them. I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's much obliged and most obedient humble servant,

JOHN LETTICE.

JOHN WODDROP, ESQ.⁽¹⁾ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Bridge Street, Glasgow, December 18, 1773.

MY LORD,

ON the 4th of September last I wrote to you, and you had sundry papers sent along with it. As I mentioned in my former letter my intention of leaving the lands that belong to me in Virginia to your Lordship, I have thought fit to enclose to you a copy of my intended will in your favour, which, after your perusal of it, please to correct and return to me ; which will be made out anew, properly witnessed, and then sent to you. With the greatest esteem, and in the most respectful manner, I am, my Lord, your most obedient

And most humble servant,

JOHN WODDROP.

(¹) Of this gentleman nothing is known by the editors.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO JOHN WODDROP, ESQ.

Burton Pynsent, February 10, 1774.

SIR,

THE favour of your letter, dated the 18th of December last, from Glasgow, reached me in due course ; which the gout has prevented me from sooner acknowledging. The scroll therein enclosed, for an intended will in my favour, I return herewith ; desiring you will accept, Sir, many sincere thanks for this mark of your favourable sentiments and regard, but I must express, at the same time, my earnest wish, on all accounts, to decline so unmerited a favour ; and the rather, too, as much of unhappy disputes among friends seem to be mixed with this business.

You will not, Sir, I trust, misinterpret this step into the least want of a due sense of your kind intentions, which I feel very flattering to me. I am, with regard, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Bowood Park, January 8, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

I PROPOSE returning to London to-morrow evening ; where I expect to find the same feebleness

and uncertainty in the political world, which, for some time past, has been the characteristic of it. Some of Lord Rockingham's friends alone are capable of thinking things advancing; and it is, I understand, his Lordship's and their intention to have a question offered to both Houses upon the Irish business. If I had the least influence, I should certainly deprecate such a measure, because I do not conceive that either Ireland or America can ever gain by the interposition of parliament here; and it can answer no good purpose to the public, or individuals, to call upon every acting man for a creed regarding Ireland. However, if it does come on, my opinion will naturally lead me to condemn the justice and the policy of such a tax as was proposed, as inconsistent with any degree of connection, much more of dependence, of Ireland on Great Britain. I shall, at the same time, acknowledge the great principle of the constitution your Lordship dwells upon; that of the competency of the House of Commons to judge of all matters of supply, in every part of the King's dominions, and the unadvisedness of any interference, by the King or otherwise, with this their exclusive privilege, reserving the negative of the King, as well as the controlling power of the British parliament, to be exercised in matters of commercial regulation.

I am particular in stating this, because I apprehend that I may be the only person in either House of parliament who will go so far, without descending to managements; which every day's observation

confirms me in wishing to avoid. The ministers, I understand, are come round to join with the most violent in condemning the policy, and I suppose will not be less ready to join them in upholding Poyning's act, and all the old doctrine of the dependence of Ireland upon England, in all cases whatsoever. I shall therefore be very anxious to know, how far the reservation I have stated meets your Lordship's idea, as I expect whatever debate occurs will turn upon that, or some other distinction which may be offered in favour of the supreme authority of the mother-country. I am, &c.

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Burton Pynsent, January 10, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

YOUR Lordship's goodness is great in the supply of matter for meditation by my chimney-corner, which your kind attention has furnished me with, in the various papers transmitted. These I shall read at leisure, and talk over at some future time. The other important affair, which I understand is resolved to be brought upon the scene, is not of a nature to be laid by, till a future opportunity; as your Lordship does me the honour to command me to trouble you with my sentiments relating to it, before it comes on. By the singularity in which

I find I stand as to my notions, it might be as well to be quite silent ; but if Lord Shelburne orders, I am willing to be indiscreet. I must ask permission to be short, as my hand will not follow my mind.

Allow me, then, my dear Lord, to say, in one word, that any question, proposition, resolution, or declaration in parliament here, censuring, branding, or forbidding in future, a tax laid in a committee of supply, upon Ireland, in the Irish House of Commons, appears to me to be fatal. Were my informations less authentic, I should think it impossible that the axe could be so laid to the root of the most sacred, fundamental, right of the Commons, by any friends to liberty. The justice or policy of the tax on absentees is not the question ; and on these, too, endless arguments may be maintained *pro* and *con.* : the single question is, have the Commons of Ireland exceeded the powers lodged with them by the essential constitution of parliament ? I answer, they have not ! and the interference of the British parliament would, in that case, be unjust, and the measure destructive of all fair correspondence between England and Ireland for ever. Were it possible for me to attend the House of Lords, I would, to the utmost of my power, oppose any interference of parliament here, upon this matter, and enter my protest upon the Journals against it.

Thus, my dear Lord, I have, with abundant temerity, sent your Lordship an insignificant, solitary opinion : it is pure in the source, flowing from

the old-fashioned Whig principles ; and if defective in discernment, very replete with conviction. I make no difficulty to write by the post, meaning to have no concealment of my sentiments on this important object : on the contrary, I wish to have it known, that I am strenuously against any interference of parliament here, in any shape whatever upon this matter.

I have now, my dear Lord, only to add, that I grieve to find myself constrained by irresistible conviction to set my single opinion against that powerful stream, that bears down all before it. I am persuaded of the rectitude of their intentions ; but not the less alarmed, at the certain confusion this infatuated counsel will plunge us in. What extenuation shall I, at last, offer to your Lordship, for all the above presumption ? I cannot read over without blushing opinions so decided, standing alone as I do ; and yet I will own, at the same time, that I should feel more shame, if, in a conjuncture like this, I hesitated to declare them. Let me then throw myself upon the candour of my judge ; in full confidence, that he would pardon any crime rather than insincerity.

I am ever, &c.,

CHATHAM.

(1) "The influence of the Whig leaders," says Mr. Hardy, in his *Memoirs of Lord Charlemont*, "predominated so far, in this instance, as to oblige ministers to relinquish the measure, and give orders to Lord Harecourt, when the question was almost brought to a decision, suddenly to withdraw his support."

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

London, February 3, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

OUR American affairs afford abundant matter of attention. Besides the resistance of the tea-duty, the ministry appear desirous of taking up the affairs of Boston. The two Houses of Assembly petitioned the King, about six months since, for the removal of the governor and lieutenant-governor; alleging their loss of public confidence, and their incapacity to serve the King in general terms. The petition was at first laid aside, like the home remonstrances, but was on a sudden resumed, and referred to the privy council; who ordered the respective agents to attend with counsel, though not desired on the part of the province, on Saturday last. Thirty-five lords were assembled besides those in office. It was reported, that Lord Camden was to have been there; but he told me yesterday, that it was occasioned by some conversation he had with the president, and that he abided decidedly by his old principles. Mr. Dunning asked, on the part of his clients, the reason of his being ordered to attend, and spoke shortly on the general object of the Petition; which meant no prosecution, but to convey the sense of the people to the throne. Mr. Wedderburne, under the pretext of reply, and the encouragement of the judges—the indecency of whose behaviour exceeded, as is agreed on all

hands, that of any committee of election⁽¹⁾ — entered largely into the constitution and temper of the province, and concluded by a most scurrilous invective against Dr. Franklin⁽²⁾; occasioned, as Dr. Franklin says, by some matter of private animosity; as Mr. Wedderburne says, by his attachment to his deceased friend Mr. Whately, the publication of whose correspondence contributed to inflame the assembly to their late resolutions; and others say, it is the opening of a new plan of American government. The resolution of council is not yet public, but is generally understood to be as much in favour of the governor and as discouraging to the province, as words can make it; and on Tuesday Dr. Franklin was dismissed the office of post-master for America, by a letter dated the preceding day.

Lord Buckingham, the same day, moved the Lords, that his Majesty should order the Boston correspondence to be laid before the House, al-

(1) Dr. Priestley, who was present, says, that “at the sallies of Mr. Wedderburne’s sarcastic wit, all the members of the council, the president himself (Lord Gower) not excepted, frequently laughed outright; no one of them behaving with decent gravity, except Lord North.”

(2) Of this far-famed invective, the following was the conclusion: — “Amidst these tranquil events, here is a man who, with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows himself the author of all. I can compare him only to Zanga, in Dr. Young’s ‘Revenge,’ —

——— ‘Know, then, ’twas I —

I forged the letter — I dispos’d the picture —

I hated — I despis’d — and I destroy.’

I ask, my Lords, whether the revengeful temper attributed to the bloody African, is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American?”

leging, that the question now was, not about the liberty of North America, but whether we were to be free, or slaves to our colonies, and comparing Dr. Franklin to an ambassador sent from Louis XIV. to the Doge of Genoa, &c. Lord Stair spoke after, in a bad theatrical manner, which contributed to prejudice the House ; but observed on the wildness of such language, and that humanity, commercial policy, and the public necessities, (upon which he dwelt very properly, alleging the public to be little better than bankrupt in point of finance,) dictated a very contrary one. Lord Dartmouth pressed to acquaint the House, that it was the intention of ministry to lay the papers in question before Parliament, and Lord Buckingham very readily withdrew his motion.

Various measures are talked of, for altering the constitution of the government of New England, and prosecuting individuals ; all tending to more or less enforcement. The opinion here is very general, that America will submit, that government was taken by surprise when they repealed the stamp-act, and that all may be recovered. I took the liberty to tell your Lordship in the summer, that the great object of my parliamentary conduct would be to prove, that if the King had continued his confidence in the sound part of his administration of 1767, the East Indies might have proved the salvation of this country, without injury to the Company, or to any individual ; and that peace might have been preserved in Europe, and in America : which last will appear sufficiently evident from the papers of that time, when the colonies

universally agreed to the mutiny-act, in contradiction to their own principles. I have the attorney and solicitor general's opinion, for their full and satisfactory submission to the parliament; and Sir Francis Bernard acknowledges, in his letter dated January 30, 1768, that "the House of Assembly showed a good disposition to a reconciliation with government, and had given good proof of it, having acted in all things with spirit and moderation, avoided subjects," &c.; and Lord Hillsborough himself, in his letter dated April 22, 1768, "laments, that the same moderation had not continued." I am further convinced, that it is only by recurring to the same principles, that the King can obtain any of those great objects, whatever hands he may employ, and that he might, by doing so in America, secure the commerce and customs of that country, upon any footing parliament might judge expedient; might secure the growing produce both of the quit-rents and post-office; might command a respectful, if not an affectionate, language from the several assemblies; besides very possibly a supply, if it should be judged reasonable, in the way of requisition.

I have great satisfaction in telling your Lordship, that Lord Temple called upon me a few days ago, and held a language full of moderation towards America, and of a very handsome kind towards your Lordship. It is impossible for me to finish this subject, without acknowledging the unanswerableness of your Lordship's reasoning about Ireland, and the satisfactory, uniform ground it affords,

relative to the American question ; which I should be very insensible if I did not acknowledge, among the many advantageous results of your Lordship's communication and friendship. I am ever, &c.

SHELburne.

THE EARL OF SHELburne TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

London, February 27, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

ON Wednesday last Lord North sent to Mr. Cornwall, and on seeing him, requested the favour of him to accept a place at the treasury, which would be vacant by Mr. Dyson's acceptance of the cofferer's place, which Mr. Stanley agreed to give up on getting the government of the Isle of Wight for life. He very frankly told Mr. Cornwall, that he should not know how to turn himself, if he refused it, and expressed himself, in regard to Mr. Cornwall's principles and future conduct, as affected by them, in a very open liberal manner. Mr. Cornwall, however, remains truly undetermined. He has, I believe, mentioned it only to Mr. Dunning, Colonel Barré, myself, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Jenkinson, who was totally ignorant of it ; but I should imagine it will end in his acceptance ; from the distracted, unexplained state of Opposition, as well as the several motives I had the honour of discussing with your Lordship in the summer. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ The several appointments here spoken of all took place during the following month.

On Thursday night, Mr. Charles Fox received a letter from Lord North, acquainting him, that the King had ordered a new commission to be made out for the treasury, and that his name should be left out of it.⁽¹⁾ I know nothing from any authority of his successor. The town talks of Lord Beauchamp, or Sir William Meredith ⁽²⁾, or Mr. Cornwall.

In the mean time, the public have been amused with a very solemn trial in the House of Lords upon literary property ; which ended in the reversal of certainly a very extraordinary decree of Lord Mansfield's ; who showed himself the merest Captain Bobadil that, I suppose, ever existed in real life. I ought, instead of being a bad writer, to be a good painter, to convey to your Lordship the ridicule of the scene. You can, perhaps, imagine to yourself the Bishop of Carlisle ⁽³⁾, an old metaphysical head of a college, reading a paper, not a speech, out of an old sermon book, with very bad sight, leaning on

(1) The following is a copy of Lord North's laconic epistle upon this occasion : — “ Sir, his Majesty has thought proper to order a new commission of the Treasury to be made out, in which I do not perceive your name. NORTH.”

(2) Sir William Meredith was appointed comptroller of the household.

(3) Dr. Edmund Law, grandfather of the present Lord Ellenborough. In 1754, he was elected master of St. Peter's college, Cambridge, and in 1769 promoted to the see of Carlisle, by the unsolicited recommendation of the Duke of Grafton. He was the author of sundry sermons, and controversial tracts relating to metaphysics and divinity ; and in 1777 published a quarto edition of the Works of Loeke, with a Life and Preface. He also wrote, “ Observations occasioned by the contest about Literary Property.” He died in 1787, in his eighty-fourth year.

the table, Lord Mansfield sitting at it, with eyes of fixed melancholy looking at him, knowing that the bishop's were the only eyes in the House who could not meet his ; the judges behind him full of rage at being drawn into so absurd an opinion, and abandoned in it by their chief ; the Bishops waking, as your Lordship knows they do, just before they vote, and staring on finding something the matter ; while Lord Townshend was close to the bar, getting Mr. Dunning to put up his glass to look at the head of criminal justice. He has not appeared since in the House of Lords, and all Westminster Hall behold his dejection without, I believe, one commiserating eye. ⁽¹⁾

These are the facts which at present interest the public ; and for that reason I thought it proper your Lordship should be acquainted with them. It is supposed, by most sensible people, that Mr. Charles Fox did not venture on a line of conduct, which almost unavoidably called for the resentment of Lord North, without support from some part of administration, and that *that* part must have some encouragement from the Closet. Some go so far as to

⁽¹⁾ The question of literary property was brought before the House of Lords, by an appeal from a decree of chancery, which had been obtained in favour of Becket, a bookseller, against other booksellers, as pirates, in having published a work belonging to him. Lord Mansfield supported the decree ; while Lord Camden maintained, that the statute of Queen Anne took away any right at common law for an author's multiplying copies exclusively for ever, if such right ever existed. The House of Lords concurred in this opinion, and the decree was reversed ; by which decision, literary property has ever since depended on the said statute.

say, that Lord North's tenure is very precarious, and that a new arrangement, which is to place Lord Gower at the treasury, with Mr. Jenkinson chancellor of the exchequer, is on the point of taking place. There certainly is some delay about the American papers, which Lord Dartmouth told me, some time since, were to be laid before both Houses immediately, and they are not yet come. It is said also, that Lord North has made a good deal of difficulty about a bill proposed for Canada, on account of some principle asserted in the preamble. I am, &c.

SHELBURNE.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Pall Mall, March 5, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE feelings which your Lordship so warmly expresses concerning the success of this very important bill ⁽¹⁾ are exactly my own. I will, therefore, pass over to the very great probability, not to say certainty, of our success on Tuesday next, which I yesterday got fixed for the second reading. Amongst the remarkable friends of it may be reckoned the

(1) The bill for rendering Mr. Grenville's Election bill perpetual; which passed in the House of Commons by two hundred and fifty against one hundred and twenty-two. "So strong," says the Annual Register, "was the disposition of the nation in favour of this bill, that very few who voted against it could venture to show themselves at the general election."

Dukes of Marlborough and Newcastle, together with Lord Rochford and Lord Holderness; who, in his bad state of health, has wished that Lord Suffolk should, by proxy, give his consent. These, with many others, such as Lord Exeter, Lord Talbot, Lord Boston, &c. seem to insure success to such a degree, that it is even doubted whether the enemy will show their face. The testimonies, within doors and without, are so general and so high, that they afford me every thing but consolation; they indeed rather enhance the bitterness of recollection — but of that no more.

I will now turn to the pleasing hope, that, with the approaching zephyrs, a confirmed state of good health will be restored to you, subject only to the annual tribute of a regular fit of the gout, severe but salutary, and by habitual custom become at last quite necessary. As to myself, I have hitherto escaped, not without many rheumatic sensations, which suit but ill with those paths of amusement and delight, in which I was wont to tread, but which I have now very much abandoned, as well as those of politics. Called again into the latter for next Tuesday, by the irresistible force of private affection and public duty, I hope to send my sister, by the next post, a triumphant account of joyful victory, and remain, ever, to you and yours, my dear Lord's most affectionate brother,

TEMPLE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Burton Pynsent, March 6, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAVE redoubled thanks to offer to your Lordship, for your accumulated kind favours, of the 3d and 27th February, and am to beg you to attribute my contracting such an arrear of acknowledgments so due, to nothing but a hand too feeble to execute my inclinations and purposes. The world is a thing so remote from our lonely moors, and my thoughts are of so recluse and sequestered a sort, that I fear, all my reasonings about the state of this great distant world would be equally guess-work with Fontenelle's "Pluralité," &c.; but not partaking, in the smallest degree, of the amusement of the French conjecturer's agreeable imaginations. It is, I venture to advance, much easier to say what our sad state is, than how much worse it is likely soon to become. America sits heavy upon my mind. India is a perpetual source of regrets. There, "where I had garnered up my heart;" where our strength lay, and our happiest resources presented themselves, it is all changed into danger, weakness, distraction, and vulnerability. I little thought once, I should form daily wishes for the health and life of his most Christian Majesty. I believe now, that no French subject of the masculine gender prays so devoutly for the preservation

of his days as I do, in my humble village. I consider the peace as hanging on this single life; that life not worth two years' purchase, and England undone, if war comes; unless war can prosper, without sinews or hearts, national credit or the affections of the people.

But I turn from this gloomy perspective to the agreeable picture your Lordship gives me of the pillars of literary property. How could the Devil and the Muses owe the Chief Justice such a shame? The very thought of coining science and literature into ready rhino, is as illiberal as it is illegal. I hear that Lord Camden shone in full lustre. So much for the amusement of the Lords' House!

I now come to a much higher object — the bill which has passed the Commons, for perpetuating Mr. Grenville's act for the trial of elections. This happy event is a dawn of better times; it is the last prop of parliament: should it be lost in its passage, the legislature will fall into incurable contempt and detestation of the nation. I hardly think a bill so sent up, and on such a subject, respecting the exclusive business of the Commons, can be opposed by men in their senses. The act does honour to the statute-book, and will endear for ever the memory of the framer.

The part of Mr. Fox must naturally beget speculations; it may, however, be all resolved, without going deeper, into youth and warm blood. I have long held one opinion, as to the solidity of Lord North's situation: he serves the Crown more suc-

cessfully and more sufficiently, upon the whole, than any other man now to be found could do. This tenure seems a pretty good one. Who, by the way, my dear Lord, ever had a better? or indeed any other, in any times? My small knowledge of history carries me no further. I am extremely obliged to your Lordship for the confidential communication on Mr. Cornwall's subject. I am quite unable to form any conjecture on the probability of his acceptance; I conclude, that may turn on many circumstances I am a stranger to, and particularly on knowing the *dessous des cartes*; which he must know from his relation, Mr. Jenkinson. If he accepts, government makes a very valuable and accredited instrument of real business. His character is respectable, and his manners and life amiable. Such men are not to be found every day.

I am ever, with truest esteem, &c.

CHATHAM.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Pall Mall, Tuesday, March 8, 1774.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I AM just returned from the House of Lords. Lord Weymouth opposed the principle of the bill, but gave not one reason of common sense against it. The Duke of Grafton was against perpetuating it *now*; but made the highest *éloge* possible of my

brother, and used the highest expressions possible towards me. Lord Gower was with us, together with Lord Dartmouth, Lord Suffolk, Lord Lyttelton, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Mansfield, — all full of encomiums, and the day ended without a division. I forgot to mention, that Bishop Hinchliffe⁽¹⁾ spoke to the same effect with the Duke of Grafton, and mentioned passing the bill with all its imperfections on its head. I ended the debate, and desired they would point out any one imperfection; for I had heard of none, and from the course of the debate I had the greatest reason to look upon it as a bill full of perfection. The greatest piece of fun is to think of Lord Guildford's⁽²⁾ giving his proxy to Lord Boston in favour of the bill. You cannot expect more from a man just going to the opera, than that I should hasten to assure you and yours of the affection of

TEMPLE.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

London, March 15, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

APPREHENDING that you may be anxious for the depending fate of America, I trouble your Lord-

⁽¹⁾ In 1769, elected, by the interest of the Duke of Grafton, bishop of Peterborough. He died in 1794.

⁽²⁾ The father of Lord North; who had strongly opposed he bill in the House of Commons.

ship with a few lines. You will read Lord North's proposition in the newspapers, to change the port from Boston, till the assembly has indemnified the India Company, and to enable the King afterwards, if he judges proper, then to restore it. Colonel Barré tells me, that finding the Rockinghams divided, that is, Mr. Dowdeswell, after some hesitation, directly opposing, and Lord John Cavendish rather tending to approbation and decidedly declaring a division, thought the best service he could do America was to support government to a certain degree, avowing his original principles, and that he might have more weight to resist propositions of a more coercive nature, which might be offered in the prosecution of this business ; which is to come on again on Friday. I accidentally met Lord Dartmouth yesterday in a morning visit at Mr. Wilmot's. Without entering into the particular measures in question, he stated, with great fairness, and with very little reserve, the difficulties of his situation, the unalterableness of his principles, and his determination to cover America from the present storm to the utmost of his power, even to repealing the act ; which I urged to him as the most expedient step, the first moment he could bring his colleagues to listen to such a measure. This, together with Lord North's language, which Colonel Barré tells me was of a moderate cast, leads me to hope the further measures will not be so hostile as was expected.

I took the liberty to read that part of your Lord-

ship's letter to Mr. Cornwall, which respected him; with which he was very much flattered. I own I should feel the loss of his friendship a great sacrifice to politics. I have lived long enough to know, that with such leanings I scarce ought to trust my own eyes or ears. I have, notwithstanding, the confidence to believe very firmly, that he has not so much communication as your Lordship might naturally imagine on business in certain quarters, but that his communication on such subjects is and will be confined to the avowed and natural channels.

I have the honour to be, &c.

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Burton Pynsent, March 20, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

IT is most true that I am extremely anxious about the measures now depending, with regard to America, and I consider the fate of Old England as being at stake, not less than that of the New. The violence committed upon the tea-cargo is certainly criminal; nor would it be real kindness to the Americans to adopt their passions and wild pretensions, where they manifestly violate the most indispensable ties of civil society. Boston, therefore, appears to me to owe reparation for such a destruction of the property of the East India Com-

pany. This is, to my mind, clear and evident ; but, I confess, it is equally clear to me, that in pursuing this just object, government may become unjust ; if they attempt to blend the enforcement of general declared rights of the British parliament (which I must for ever treat as rights in theory only) with a due satisfaction for a tumultuous act of a very criminal nature. The methods, too, proposed, by way of coercion, appear to me too severe, as well as highly exceptionable in order of time : for reparation ought first to be demanded in a solemn manner, and refused by the town and magistracy of Boston, before such a bill of pains and penalties can be called just.

The whole of this unhappy business is beset with dangers of the most complicated and lasting nature ; and the point of true wisdom for the mother-country seems to be in such nice and exact limits, (accurately distinguished, and embraced, with a large and generous moderation of spirit,) as narrow, short-sighted councils of state, or over-heated popular debates, are not likely to hit. Perhaps a fatal desire to take advantage of this guilty tumult of the Bostonians, in order to crush the spirit of liberty among the Americans in general, has taken possession of the heart of government. If that mad and cruel measure should be pushed, one need not be a prophet to say, England has seen her best days. Boston, I hope and believe, would make reparation, for a heinous wrong, in the tea-cargo ; but to consent quietly to have no right over their

own purse, I conceive the people of America will never be brought to do. Laws of navigation and trade, for regulation not for revenue, I should hope and believe, America once at ease about internal taxation, would also acquiesce under, and friendly intercourse be again opened ; without which, we, not they, shall be undone. I shall never end this extensive and interesting subject : I will, therefore, my dear Lord, close my long epistle at present, by two old lines, I believe, of Spenser ; who says, not very poetically, but so very truly, that our wise rulers might do well to bear them in mind : this sage dictum is —

“ Who once have missed the right way,
The further they do go, the further they do stray.”

I am glad to hear Lord North's tone was of a moderate cast, and I place a degree of hope in the candour and right principles of Lord Dartmouth. But where is the casting voice in this great business ? I thank your Lordship for doing my sentiments of Mr. Cornwall justice to him. Your Lordship's feelings towards him are just, and every way becoming the candour and sensibility of a generous nature. I make no doubt that Colonel Barré will have shone, on Friday last. He takes the only way *to cover* the Americans effectually, by not putting their defence in the weak ground. He is too able a commander to fall into such an error. For this time, I will at last take my leave, with assuring you, that I am unalterably, &c.

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Bowood Park, Monday, April 4, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

ENCLOSED I send your Lordship the Boston Port bill ; which underwent a fuller, and by all accounts a fairer, discussion on Tuesday in the House of Lords, than it did in the House of Commons. The debate took a general turn ; and Lord Camden, in his reply to Lord Mansfield, met the question fully, and even as near the extent of his former principles as he could well do. The remarkable features of the day were the notorious division among the ministry, which was very near avowed, some calling what passed in Boston commotion, others open rebellion, a more than disregard to Lord Dartmouth, and somewhat of the same sort towards Lord North. Lord Mansfield took upon himself a considerable lead ; alleged that it was the last overt-act of high treason, proceeding from over lenity and want of foresight ; that it was, however, the luckiest event that could befall this country, for that all might be recovered, for compensation to the India Company he regarded as no object of the bill ; that if this act passed, we should be passed the Rubicon ; that the Americans would then know, that we should temporise no longer ; and if it passed with tolerable unanimity, Boston would submit, and all would pass *sine cæde*.

The House allowed me very patiently, though very late at night, to state the tranquil and the loyal state in which I left the colonies, with some other very home facts; and I cannot say I met with that weight of prejudice which I apprehended. Lord Temple having come down to attend General Frazer's bill, declared, early in this debate, that he did not intend voting, or giving any opinion on the measure, but that the backwardness of the ministers to explain their plan appeared an indignity to the House; that they were mistaken if they thought the measure a trifling one; that in his opinion nothing could justify the ministers hereafter, except the town of Boston proving in an actual state of rebellion; but he feared the ministry had neither heads nor hearts to conduct either system. During the whole debate the ministers would never declare whether they would this session repeal the act or not. In regard to their plan, Lord Dartmouth appeared to stop, after declaring the proposed alteration of the charter; but Lord Suffolk declared very plainly, that other very determined measures should be offered, before the end of the session.

I left the town talking much of some changes, as likely during the recess; such as Lord Townshend for Secretary of State, and Lord George Germain to be Master-General, with his rank. He has certainly put himself very forward of late, and met with great encouragement from ministry; besides the old story of Lord Gower and Jenkinson replacing Lord North. In this situation, I submit it

to your Lordship, whether, as by all accounts you intend coming soon to Hayes, you would not come somewhat sooner to attend the House of Lords, before this business is gone through. Your Lordship knows the public better than I do. I have already mentioned, that I think them far from deaf on this subject. The landed property, except some of the most sensible, are, as is natural, I believe, for violent measures. The interest of the commercial part is very decidedly on the other side, and their passions are taking that turn. As to parties and particular men, your Lordship's experience must suggest to you, how far they are likely to hold together in such times. All that I can presume to offer, is my own poor opinion, after having very much weighed the situation, that your Lordship's presence is absolutely necessary in many views, and desirable in all. Having detained your Lordship so long, I will take the admonition my paper gives me, and request your Lordship to believe me, &c. &c.

SHELBURNE.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Burton Pynsent, April 6, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE very kind attention with which your Lordship has honoured me, from Bowood, puts me quite

au fait of the present state of the confused political world, and affords abundant matter for no very comfortable contemplations. The passage of the Boston Port bill through the Lords, *nemine dissente*, is more than I expected, or, I believe, than the ministers hoped. They cannot, at least, now complain of their hands being weakened by factious opposition ; so that all the sad train of misery and confusion, which harsh and short-sighted measures will, I apprehend, draw after them, can be charged only on their own inevitable tendency. Compensation to the East India Company — which, rightly considered, implies sufficiently a recognition of the authority of Great Britain — might have stood (exceptionable in the mode) tolerably well on this side the water ; and have been acquiesced in on the side of America. Had they stopped here, much ground would have been gained for English government, and the great work of reducing back the colonies to order, and a competent measure of obedience, would have been more than half accomplished. By going on to further severities, I fear, all is put to the hazard. America guilty, would have submitted ; and subsequent lenitives might have restored mutual good will and necessary confidence. America disfranchised, and her charter mutilated, may, I forebode, resist ; and the cause become general on that vast continent. If this happen, England is no more, how big words soever the sovereign in his parliament of Great Britain may utter.

In this forlorn state of things, your Lordship does me too much honour, in thinking one man more at Westminster of any consequence. I have too long seen my no-weight to dream any longer on that subject; nor have I the least ambition left to be talked of any more, in a world I am unable to be of service to. I foresee inextricable confusion, and a temper in the times ripe to embrace destruction. As to changes surmised, I still incline to discredit them; unless Lord North should wish to retire from a too dangerous and painful pre-eminence.

I am happy that your Lordship had an occasion to state your views on the state of America, and cannot wonder if it was received as its importance merited. I conclude, your Lordship will be returned to town before I shall be able to reach Hayes. This uncertain weather keeps me in alarms for gout; so that I cannot yet fix a day for setting out. I keep, however, my boots greased, and my young troop, at least, will be ready to march at a minute's warning. I rejoice that Lord Temple held a moderate language about the Americans, and that Lord Camden did not forget his old principles. Allow me to assure your Lordship, thus shortly, how much

I am, my dear Lord,

Your devoted

CHATHAM.

LORD LYTTTELTON⁽¹⁾ TO EARL TEMPLE.

May 17, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

I SNATCH this minute to tell your Lordship, that the ministry seem desirous that Lord Chatham should again rise, though, as they hope, not in his fury ; for if he does, they are annihilated. It will not be possible to delay the King's assent to those

(¹) Thomas, second Lord Lyttelton. See *antè*, p. 220. His character is thus drawn by the Rev. Montagu Pennington, in his Memoirs of Mrs. Carter:—"With great abilities, generally very ill applied ; with a strong sense of religion, which he never suffered to influence his conduct, his days were mostly passed in splendid misery, and in the painful change of the most extravagant gaiety, and the deepest despair. The delight, when he pleased, of the first and most select societies, he chose to pass his time, for the most part, with the most profligate and abandoned of both sexes. Solitude was to him the most insupportable torment, and to banish reflection, he flew to company whom he despised and ridiculed. His conduct was a subject of bitter regret to his father and all his friends." He died in November, 1779, before he had completed his thirty-sixth year. The remarkable story of his prophesying the period of his own death within a few minutes, upon the information of an apparition, has been generally quoted as a true story ; and Dr. Johnson considered it the most extraordinary thing that had happened in his day: "but of late," says Sir Walter Scott, in his *Demonology*, "it has been said and published, that the unfortunate nobleman had previously determined to take poison, and of course had it in his own power to ascertain the execution of the prediction. It was no doubt singular, that a man who meditated his exit from the world should have chosen to play such a trick on his friends ; but it is still more credible that a whimsical man should do so wild a thing, than that a messenger should be sent from the dead, to tell a libertine at what precise time he should expire.

bills that are now before the House; but there is another American bill which will serve Lord Chatham's purpose, and that they will put off on his account till Wednesday. It is of no great consequence, indeed; but as a part of the great whole, it will be sufficient to warrant his Lordship's appearance. It is a bill for the quartering and regulating the troops in the colonies.⁽¹⁾

(¹) In a second letter, written on the 18th, Lord Lyttelton acquaints Lord Temple, that the third reading of the bill was put off to the 25th, "as a compliment to Lord Chatham, that in case his Lordship chose to deliver his opinion in parliament on the affairs of America, an occasion might be afforded him." It was further put off till the 27th, when he was able to attend, and spoke as follows:—

The Earl of *Chatham*.—My Lords, the unfavourable state of health, under which I have long laboured, could not prevent me from laying before your Lordships my thoughts on the bill now upon the table, and on the American affairs in general. If we take a transient view of those motives which induced the ancestors of our fellow-subjects in America to leave their native country, to encounter the innumerable difficulties of the unexplored regions of the western world, our astonishment at the present conduct of their descendants will naturally subside. There was no corner of the world into which men of their free and enterprising spirit would not fly with alacrity, rather than submit to the slavish and tyrannical principles, which prevailed at that period in their native country. And shall we wonder, my Lords, if the descendants of such illustrious characters spurn, with contempt, the hand of unconstitutional power, that would snatch from them such dear-bought privileges as they now contend for? Had the British colonies been planted by any other kingdom than our own, the inhabitants would have carried with them the chains of slavery, and spirit of despotism; but as they are, they ought to be remembered as great instances to instruct the world, what great exertions mankind will naturally make, when they are left to the free exercise of their own powers. And, my Lords, notwithstanding my intention to give my hearty negative to the question now before you, I cannot help condemning, in the severest manner, the late turbulent and unwarrantable conduct of the Americans in some instances, particularly in the late riots at Boston. But, my Lords, the mode which has been pursued to bring them back to a sense of their duty to their parent

I have the pleasure to assure your Lordship, that all the comments upon that part of my speech which

state has been so diametrically opposite to the fundamental principles of sound policy, that individuals, possessed of common understanding, must be astonished at such proceedings. By blocking up the harbour of Boston, you have involved the innocent trader in the same punishment with the guilty profligates who destroyed your merchandize ; and instead of making a well-concerted effort to secure the real offenders, you clap a naval and military extinguisher over their harbour, and punish the crime of a few lawless depredators and their abettors upon the whole body of the inhabitants. — My Lords, this country is little obliged to the framers and promoters of this tea-tax. The Americans had almost forgot, in their excess of gratitude for the repeal of the stamp-act, any interest but that of the mother-country ; there seemed an emulation among the different provinces, who should be most dutiful and forward in their expressions of loyalty to their real benefactor ; as you will readily perceive by the following letter from Governor Bernard to a noble Lord then in office : — “ The House of Representatives,” says he, “ from the time of opening the session to this day, has shown a disposition to avoid all dispute with me ; every thing having passed with as much good humour as I could desire. They have acted, in all things, with temper and moderation ; they have avoided some subjects of dispute, and have laid a foundation for removing some causes of former altercation.” This, my Lords, was the temper of the Americans ; and would have continued so, had it not been interrupted by your fruitless endeavours to tax them without their consent : but the moment they perceived your intention was renewed to tax them, under a pretence of serving the East India Company, their resentment got the ascendant of their moderation, and hurried them into actions contrary to law, which, in their cooler hours, they would have thought on with horror ; for I sincerely believe the destroying of the tea was the effect of despair. — But, my Lords, from the complexion of the whole of the proceedings, I think that administration has purposely irritated them into those late violent acts, for which they now so severely smart ; purposely to be revenged on them for the victory they gained by the repeal of the stamp-act ; a measure in which they seemingly acquiesced, but to which at the bottom they were real enemies. For what other motive could induce them to dress taxation, that father of American sedition, in the robes of an East India Director, but to break in upon that mutual peace and harmony which then so happily subsisted between them and the mother-country ? — My Lords, I am an old man, and would advise the noble lords in office to adopt a more gentle mode of governing America ; for the day is not far distant, when America may vie with these

regarded that great statesman, convince me that at present all parties feel the necessity of his interfer-

kingdoms, not only in arms but in arts also. It is an established fact, that the principal towns in America are learned and polite, and understand the constitution of the empire as well as the noble lords who are now in office ; and, consequently, they will have a watchful eye over their liberties, to prevent the least encroachment on their hereditary rights. This observation is so recently exemplified, in an excellent pamphlet, which comes from the pen of an American gentleman, that I shall take the liberty of reading to your Lordships his thoughts on the competency of the British parliament to tax America, which, in my opinion, puts this interesting matter in the clearest view. “ The High Court of Parliament,” says he, “ is the supreme legislative power over the whole empire : in all free states the constitution is fixed ; and as the supreme legislature derives its power and authority from the constitution, it cannot overleap the bounds of it, without destroying its own foundation. The constitution ascertains and limits both sovereignty and allegiance, and therefore his Majesty’s American subjects, who acknowledge themselves bound by the ties of allegiance, have an equitable claim to the full enjoyment of the fundamental rules of the English constitution ; and that it is an essential unalterable right in nature, ingrafted into the British constitution as a fundamental law, and ever held sacred and irrevocable by the subjects within the realm — that what a man has honestly acquired, is absolutely his own ; which he may freely give, but which cannot be taken from him without his consent.” This, my Lords, though no new doctrine, has always been my received and unalterable opinion, and I will carry it to my grave — *that this country had no right under Heaven to tax America*. It is contrary to all the principles of justice and civil policy, which neither the exigencies of the state, nor even an acquiescence in the taxes, could justify upon any occasion whatever. Such proceedings will never meet their wished-for success ; and, instead of adding to their miseries, as the bill now before you most undoubtedly does, adopt some lenient measures, which may lure them to their duty ; proceed like a kind and affectionate parent over a child whom he tenderly loves ; and, instead of those harsh and severe proceedings, pass an amnesty on all their youthful errors ; clasp them once more in your fond and affectionate arms ; and, I will venture to affirm, you will find them children worthy of their sire. But should their turbulence exist after your proffered terms of forgiveness, which I hope and expect this House will immediately adopt, I will be among the foremost of your Lordships to move for such measures as will effectually prevent a future relapse, and make them feel what it is to provoke a fond and forgiving parent ! a parent,

ence. Some great little people opened themselves very freely upon that head. The politics of France are changed, and, consequently, the politics of England. The commonwealth calls loudly for a Dictator, and you cannot be mistaken in the man. I will wait on your Lordship to-morrow at half an hour after two, and communicate my thoughts *vivâ voce*. In the mean time, give me leave to rejoice with your Lordship at the French king's death ⁽¹⁾, as perhaps it will be the means of awakening and therefore of saving this miserable country.

I remain, my dear Lord, ever yours,

LYTTLETON. ⁽²⁾

my Lords, whose welfare has ever been my greatest and most pleasing consolation. This declaration may seem unnecessary ; but I will venture to declare, the period is not far distant, when she will want the assistance of her most distant friends : but should the all-disposing hand of Providence prevent me from affording her my poor assistance, my prayers shall be ever for her welfare — Length of days be in her right hand, and in her left riches and honour ; may her ways be ways of pleasantness, and all her paths be peace !

The bill passed by a majority of fifty-seven against sixteen.

⁽¹⁾ On the 10th of May.

⁽²⁾ By a reference to p. 13. of fac-similes of autographs given in the second volume, it will be seen that the first Lord Lyttelton, and also his brother Sir Richard, wrote their name Lyttelton. The inducement for the alteration adopted by the young lord has not been ascertained.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Hayes, Saturday night. [June 4, 1774.]

THE pain and weakness in my left hand communicating some little disorder in my right *wing*, my epistle to my dear love must be short. Gout, however, is not very considerable, nor pain enough to have hindered my sleep last night, or amusing my self with boys and reading to-day. So lose not a thought on me but be a *town-lady*, while you are in town. I rejoice that you had a good Ranelagh ; and for the ball proposed, I am more than consenting, quite happy, that the poor girls will have an opportunity of seeing some proper company and be delighted into the bargain. ⁽¹⁾ Mr. Sheriff Sayre's language flatters me not a little. The point is obtained at which I aimed ; namely, to stand for England and for America ; and I trust, from the Sheriff's report, that I am out of the reach of misrepresentation ; but this, time will show. ⁽²⁾

The anxiety expressed by Lady Camden on my Lord's being strangely kept away on Thursday is

⁽¹⁾ In a note of the preceding evening, Lady Chatham says, — "Past twelve o'clock : just returned from Ranelagh — have seen the Duchess of Queensberry — civility infinite — am told meditates a ball for Thursday, to which she means to ask our girls — believe shall accept, if no *veto* comes."

⁽²⁾ "Have seen Sheriff Sayre : he says, 'Lord Chatham was as great as ever : could the two countries have heard his oration, they would have run and embraced each other.'" — *Ibid.*

satisfactory. ⁽¹⁾ Boys well, and full of pleasing attentions to papa : William dying with impatience for your budget ; for I have not opened much to him. I could wish to write on till bed-time, but the hand is not so willing as the heart ; so good night. I shall not forget to obey your orders, and wish your horses swift and sure of foot.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Hayes, Friday, six o'clock P. M., June 17, 1774.

I WRITE this line, my dear love, principally to transmit the enclosed. For the account of my passage hither, and to tell you our dear boys are well, would not alone justify my breaking in upon your town occupations. The letter is from Lord Camden ; very handsome towards me, and such as makes it incumbent on me to clear his Lordship of the appearance of avoiding keeping me company yesterday. I believe him sincere and natural in this relation of the unaccountable misinformation mentioned. I wish, therefore, that you would be so good as to put the enclosed letter into Lord Temple's hands without delay, and beg his Lord-

⁽¹⁾ "Met Lady Camden—heard the unfortunate mistake, and found a serious anxious desire to set it right : several others have suffered from the same deeeitful light : Lord Exeter one." — *Ibid.*

ship to communicate it to Lord Shelburne. It is a justice I owe to Lord Camden, and which I am the more solicitous to acquit myself of, as I fear the appearance, unexplained, might not be to his Lordship's advantage; while his real intentions, and the trouble he has taken to explain them, are flattering and friendly towards me. Hand is not worse, and I trust a little quiet will set me right. I hope Ranelagh will have given you no cold, nor too much fatigue; and that the dear girls will have had some pleasure; which concludes this hasty scrawl from your loving husband,

CHATHAM.

[Enclosure.]

LORD CAMDEN TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Camden Place, Thursday night,
June 16, 1774.

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM just now informed by a messenger from Lord Chancellor, that your Lordship has been at the House to-day (¹), and though he is pleased to take

(¹) The Lords had this day taken into consideration, the amendments made by the Commons to the bill for making more effectual provision for the government of Quebec. The following very imperfect report of what Lord Chatham said upon this occasion is the only one that has been preserved:—

The Earl of *Chatham* rose, and entered fully upon the subject of the bill. He said it would involve a great country in a thousand difficulties, and in the worst of despotism, and put the whole people under arbitrary power; that it was a most cruel, oppressive, and odious measure, tearing

shame to himself for having misled me, which he did, that is but a sorry satisfaction for the disap-

up justice and every good principle by the roots; that by abolishing the trial by jury, he supposed the framers of the bill thought that mode of proceeding, together with the habeas corpus, mere moonshine, whilst every true Englishman was ready to lay down his life sooner than lose those two bulwarks of his personal security and property. The merely supposing that the Canadians would not be able to feel the good effects of law and freedom, because they had been used to arbitrary power, was an idea as ridiculous as false. He said the bill established a despotic government in that country, to which the royal proclamation of 1763 promised the protection of the English laws. Here the noble lord read part of the proclamation, and then entered fully on the council and power vested in the governors, the whole mode of which, he said, was tyrannical and despotic: he was likewise very particular on the bad consequences that would attend the great extension of that province; that the whole of the bill appeared to him to be destructive of that liberty which ought to be the ground-work of every constitution: ten thousand objections, he was confident, might be made to the bill, but the extinction of the mode of trial above mentioned was a very alarming circumstance, and he would pronounce him a bold man who proposed such a plan.—When his Lordship came to the religious part of the bill, he directed his discourse to the bench of bishops, telling them that as by the bill the Catholic religion was made the established religion of that vast continent, it was impossible they could be silent on the occasion. He called the bill a child of inordinate power, and desired and asked if any of that bench would hold it out for baptism; he touched again upon the unlimited power of the governor, in appointing all the members, and who might be made up of Roman Catholics only. He also took notice of an amendment which had been made in the House of Commons, which was a new clause, repealing so much of the act of reformation of the 1st of Elizabeth as relates to the oath of supremacy, and substituting a common oath of allegiance in its place. This act of Elizabeth, he said, had always been looked upon as one that the legislature had no more right to repeal, than the Great Charter, or the Bill of Rights.—His Lordship stated, with great force, many objections to the clause giving to the French Canadians so advantageous a part of the fisheries of cod on the Labrador coast, to the great prejudice of the English fishermen on the banks of Newfoundland; considering the said fisheries of Labrador as a nursery of French Canadian seamen, to man, in case of a French war, any squadrons of France in those seas. He exposed the train of fatal mischiefs attending the establishment of popery and arbitrary power in that vast and fertile region now annexed to the government of Quebec, and capable of con-

pointment. I met the Chancellor yesterday upon the road, and having understood from your Lordship that Friday was fixed for the American bill, I stopped him unfortunately to inquire if that was the day, to which he answered most positively that it was; that the House was to meet as to-day, and that there was no other business but a Scotch cause. Upon this information, I resolved to stay one more day in the country, and he now tells me he was deceived himself, till he saw your Lordship in the House. I cannot express how much I am vexed and mortified at this disappointment; not only as I have lost the opportunity of hearing your Lordship's sentiments upon a subject I have so warmly at heart, but likewise of showing, in the most public manner, my own concurrence with your

taining (if fully peopled) not less than thirty millions of souls. He deduced the whole series of laws from the supremacy first re-vindicated under Henry VIII., down to this day, as fundamentals constituting a clear compact that all establishments by law are to be Protestant; which compact ought not to be altered, but by the consent of the collective body of the people. He further maintained, that the dangerous innovations of this bill were at variance with all the safeguards and barriers against the return of popery and of popish influence, so wisely provided against by all the oaths of office and of trust from the constable up to the members of both Houses, and even to the sovereign in his coronation oath. He pathetically expressed his fears that it might shake the affections and confidence of his Majesty's Protestant subjects in England and Ireland; and finally lose the hearts of all his Majesty's American subjects. His Lordship then said, that for these and other reasons he gave his hearty negative to the bill."

The bill was passed by a majority of twenty-six against seven. The minority consisted of the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Chatham, Coventry, Effingham, and Spencer, and the Lords Sandys and King.

Lordship's opinion. ⁽¹⁾ I am afraid the world (though your Lordship will acquit me) will make strange constructions upon my absence; which I can no otherwise remove, than by circulating the cause of it. I am, with the most perfect esteem and respect, &c.

CAMDEN.

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Pembroke Hall, July 15, 1774.

MY DEAR FATHER,

As I consider my last, which gave an account of our arrival here, as an extra letter, I take this opportunity of beginning my weekly journal of Cambridge intelligence. The first article is, that college life hitherto agrees exceedingly well, and pleases in the same degree. The society is not so much reduced as we expected; but it will be somewhat thinner in a short time. However, with regard to tutors, I think it is settled very well, as either Mr. Turner or Mr. Pretymán ⁽²⁾ will be here constantly through the summer. They had both proposed to be absent, but when they heard I was coming, they very readily altered their plan.

⁽¹⁾ In the following year, Lord Camden brought in a bill to repeal the Quebec act; which was immediately rejected.

⁽²⁾ Mr. Pretymán became tutor of Pembroke Hall in 1773. He afterwards assumed the name of Tonline, at the desire of a gentleman who left him an estate. In 1787, he succeeded Dr. Thurlow in the bishopric of Lincoln, and in 1820 was translated to that of Winchester. He died in 1827.

The Master, I understand, intends to be at Margate part of the summer ; but, upon the whole, the college will, I believe, not be empty, considering the time of year.

I have as yet made no new coffee-house acquaintances ; but I have been considerably entertained by a paragraph in all the papers there, that Lord Chatham was soon to make the tour of Italy, for the establishment of his health. This letter, I fear, may scarce reach you before your departure, but I hope not to be left ignorant of your future direction ; on which account, I trust I shall not be long without receiving a letter that may give me some information. However, if this good reason should fail, there will always be other causes to produce the same effect, when the intelligence concerns my dear father, or any of his companions. I am not without hopes, that to-day's post may furnish me with some account of them.

I have this morning, for the first time, mounted my horse, and was accompanied by Mr. Wilson, on his beautiful cart horse, who succeeds to admiration. We find it by no means an easy matter to get any grass for them ; as most of the lands about this place continue enclosed no longer than the first of August, being what are called Lammas-grounds. Upon the whole, Mr. Wilson and myself have found, on a just calculation, that it will be full as cheap, and much more convenient, to keep them in the house, the Master having most obligingly offered us the use of his stable, which is close to the

college. My duty to my mother, and kind love to my sisters and James. Here the dinner-bell brings this scrawl to a conclusion ; so that I must beg you to excuse my assuring you in this haste, that I am, my dear father, your dutiful and affectionate son,

WILLIAM PITT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE HONOURABLE
WILLIAM PITT.

Hayes, Sunday, July 17, 1774.

NEED I tell my dear William, that his letter, received this morning, diffused general joy here? To know that he is well and happy, and to be happy ourselves, is one and the same thing. I am glad that chambers, hall, and tufted robe, continue to please, and make no doubt, that all the *Nine*, in their several departments of charming, will sue for your love with all their powers of enchantment. I know too well the danger of a new amour, or of a reviving passion, not to have some fears for your discretion. Give any of these alluring ladies the meeting by daylight, and in their turns ; not becoming the slave of any one of them, nor be drawn into late hours by the temptation of their sweet converse.

I rejoice that college is not yet evacuated of its learned garrison ; and I hope the governor of this fortress of science, the Master, or his admirable aides-de-camps, the tutors, will not soon repair to their respective excursions.

Dr. Brown, to whom I desire to present my best compliments, is very obliging in accommodating you with a stable. I hope, with this aid, Mr. Wilson's computation may not be out above one half, to bring it at all near the mark. I conclude a horse's allowance at college is upon the scale of a sizer's commons. However it prove, I am glad to think that you and he will find more convenience for riding, at every spare hour that offers. Stucky will carry Mr. Wilson safely, and, I trust, not unpleasantly. The brothers of the turf may hold the solid contents of his shoulders and forehead somewhat cheap; but, by Dan's leave, he is no uncreditable *clerical* steed. No news yet from Pitt. James is here, the flower of school-boys.

Your loving father,

CHATHAM.

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Pembroke Hall, July 27, 1774.

DEAR FATHER,

To tell you that I was made very happy by the receipt of your letter, or how much I am obliged to you for it, would be taking up your time to no purpose. Therefore, without giving you the trouble of reading what I trust you are already assured of, I shall proceed to give you satisfaction on one of the points mentioned in your letter, by informing

you, that broad day-light is the constant witness to my conversations with the *Nine*, and that even in that period they are not wooed with too much assiduity, nor any one of them with partiality. Thucydides, Quintilian, and Philosophy, share in my attention. I know you will not be surprised to hear that the Historic Muse captivates extremely; but, at the same time, I beg you to be persuaded, that neither she nor any of her sisters allure me from the resolution of early hours, which has been steadfastly adhered to, and makes the academic life agree perfectly. Quintilian I find an agreeable book, and it is very methodical on the subject it treats; and the philosophical studies have the same charms as formerly. In the interval of these occupations, which is no very small one, riding claims a part, and Nutmeg performs admirably. Even the solid shoulders of Peacock are not without admirers; and they have jogged Mr. Wilson into tolerable health and spirits; though at first the salutary exercise had an effect that, for some time, prevented his pursuing it. The rides in the neighbourhood afford nothing striking, but, at the same time, are not unpleasing, when one is a little used to a flat open country. The corn, which is ripening very fast, has a pretty appearance, and there is a great deal hereabouts. This, I think, is all upon the article of farming; and, after this, there remains only to beg the favour of you to give my duty to my mother, and love to sisters, and James when you see him. I am, my dear father, your most dutiful and affectionate son,

WILLIAM PITT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO STEPHEN SAYRE, ESQ.

Hayes, August 15, 1774.

DEAR SIR,

ENCLOSED I return to you the letter from your correspondent at New York, for the perusal of which I beg you will accept a thousand thanks. ⁽¹⁾ What infatuation and cruelty to accelerate the sad moment of war! Every step on the side of government, in America, seems calculated to drive the Americans into open resistance, vainly hoping to crush the spirit of liberty, in that vast continent, at one successful blow; but millions must perish there before the seeds of freedom will cease to grow and spread in so favourable a soil; and in the mean time devoted England must sink herself, under the ruins of her own foolish and inhuman system of destruction.

I wait with extreme impatience for the next accounts; the proclamation for seizing the covenanters, denouncing an immediate issue. Perhaps the streets of Boston have already run with blood. If you receive any interesting intelligence, I shall esteem it a great favour to hear from you by the same method. I am, &c. &c.

CHATHAM.

(1) Mr. Sayre, at this time one of the sheriffs of London, had, on the 12th, transmitted to Lord Chatham a letter from America, written by "a very honest merchant;" and added, "I understand that the soldiery do all they can to provoke the inhabitants to outrage and violence. The officers write to their friends in England, that the Americans are cowards to a man; that by a little spirit, on the present occasion, all disputes may be silenced by the sword," &c.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO STEPHEN SAYRE, ESQ. (1)

Hayes, August 28, 1774.

DEAR SIR,

It is impossible to leave the very kind marks of your remembrance unacknowledged; and I acquit myself of this pleasing duty, with the real sentiments such flattering attentions must command. The royal venison, which is extremely fine, will have the better flavour by coming through the city to Hayes, and from the friendly hand of Mr. Sheriff Sayre. Many thanks for the communication of your honest correspondent's letter, returned herewith. It is plain, that Maryland cannot wear chains! Would to Heaven it were equally plain, that the oppressor, England, is not doomed, one day, to bind them round her own hands, and wear them patiently!

“ ——— Sævior armis

Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.”(2)

Happily, beyond the Atlantic, this poison has not reached the heart. When, then, will infatuated

(1) This letter is in answer to one of the 25th, in which the Sheriff says, — “ I have taken the liberty of sending your Lordship a haunch of venison. It may be a rarity: it comes out of the royal park. I suppose it is the last which your Lordship may ever see from the same quarter. I came honestly by it; for it comes to me as Sheriff of London.”

(2) “ Now, all the evils of long peace are ours;
Luxury, more terrible than hostile powers,
Her baleful influence wide around has hurl'd,
And well avenged the subjugated world.”

GIFFORD, *Juv. sat. vi.*

administration begin to fear that freedom they cannot destroy, and which they do not know how to love? Delay is fatal, when repentance will come too late. I fear the bond of union between us and America will be cut off for ever. Devoted England will then have seen her best days — which nothing can restore again. I am sorry to conclude with so gloomy a foreboding, in a case where the most vulgar understanding may venture to prophesy.

I am, &c. &c.

CHATHAM.

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Pembroke Hall, August 31, 1774.

DEAR FATHER,

A LETTER I received yesterday from Mrs. Sparry, by the hands of an excellent secretary, would have been extremely welcome, had it not contained the unpleasing information, that you were prevented from the intended expedition to Stowe. The cause of detaining you, according to her account, is by this time perhaps entirely ceased, and I trust I shall soon have the satisfaction of knowing that you are perfectly well. I learnt by the same means, that James was then with you, for the purpose, as Mrs. Sparry expresses it, “of carrying off the high living of Greenwich.” The end, I hope, is by this

time answered ; and he, if you can part with so agreeable a companion before the party from Stowe returns, has repaired, in full health, to the academy, to add to the honours he has acquired.

I shall esteem myself happy if, before I write next, I can find out any thing to commit to paper, better worth reading than what I can say at present. Indeed, I foresaw so clearly the dulness of this day's post, that I should not have put it to the proof, but that I thought it might be some pleasure to you to be assured, that the academical life, under those wise rules which are constantly remembered, is extremely conducive both to health and pleasure.

Our society is somewhat reduced from what it was at my first arrival ; but our numbers are sufficient still to give some degree of life to it. Mr. Turner, with whom I read the first part of the time I have been here, is now absent, and Mr. Pretymann supplies his place. During the interval of a day or two before the arrival of the latter, the Master read with me some part of Cicero de Senectute ; of which he is a great admirer. He is in every respect as obliging as possible. Altogether, by the help of riding, reading, the newspapers, &c. time is past away very agreeably. The latter article, indeed, does not afford much entertainment. Now to conclude this tedious sample of epistolary dulness, I come with alacrity to assure you that I am, my dear father,

Your dutiful

and affectionate son,

WILLIAM PITT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE HONOURABLE
WILLIAM PITT.

Hayes, September 2, 1774.

I WRITE, my dearest William, the post just going out, only to thank you for your most welcome letter, and for the affectionate anxiety you express for my situation, left behind in the hospital, when our flying camp moved to Stowe. Gout has for the present subsided, and seems to intend deferring his favours till winter, if autumn will do its duty, and bless us with a course of steady weather; those days which Madame de Sevigné so beautifully paints, “*des jours filés d’or et de soie.*”

I have the pleasure to tell you, your mother and sisters returned perfectly well from Bucks, warm in praises of magnificent and princely Stowe, and full of due sentiments of the agreeable and kind reception they found there. No less than two dancings, in the short time they passed there. One escape from a wasp’s nest, which proved only an adventure to talk of, by the incomparable skill and presence of mind of Mr. Cotton. Driving our girls in his carriage with four very fine horses and no postilion, they fell into an ambuscade of wasps more fierce than Pandours, who beset these coursers of spirit not inferior to Xanthus and Podarges, and stung them to madness; when disdaining the master’s hand, he turned them short into a hedge, threw some of them, as he meant to do; and leaping down, seized the bridles of the leaders, which af-

fording time for your sisters to get out safe and sound, their honour, in point of courage, intact, as well as their bones; for they are celebrated not a little on their composure in this alarming situation.

I rejoice that your time passes to your mind, in the evacuated seat of the Muses. However, knowing that those heavenly ladies (unlike the London fair) delight most, and spread their choicest charms and treasures, in sweet retired solitude, I wo'n't wonder that their true votary is happy to be alone with them. Mr. Pretyman will by no means spoil company, and I wish you joy of his return. How many commons have you lost of late? Whose fences have you broken; and in what lord of the manor's pound have any *strays of science* been found, since the famous adventure of catching the horses with such admirable address and alacrity? ⁽¹⁾

(1) This alludes to a letter from Mr. Pitt to his mother, dated August 24, in which he relates the following:—“Mr. Wilson and myself sallied out this morning on horseback, but adventuring somewhat beyond our knowledge were in danger of losing our dinners, having actually for some time lost our horses. We had incautiously entered into an enclosure along a blind road, and after straying from field to field, discovered that we had no way to extricate ourselves, but by turning our horses over a hedge. We took our measures accordingly, and it fell to Mr. Wilson's lot to receive the horses on the other side, who prepared to execute it with the greatest diligence; but, thinking it more prudent not to approach them till the ardour with which they broke down the farmer's fences was somewhat subsided, he gave them an additional opportunity of showing their activity, which they exhibited by galloping away, and leaving us near a mile behind. At length, however, we recovered them; and having sustained no other loss than that of a broken bridle, we set forward once more, and returned too late to partake of College commons.”

I beg my affectionate compliments to Mr. Wilson, and hope you will both beware of an enclosed country for the future. Little James is still with us, doing penance for the *high living* so well described to you in Mrs. Pam's excellent epistle. All loves follow my sweetest boy, in more abundance than I have time or ability to express. I desire my best compliments to the kind and obliging Master, who loves Cicero and you.

CHATHAM.

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT TO THE
COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Pembroke Hall, September 24, 1774.

MY DEAR MOTHER,

IT is needless to tell you, what pleasure I received from your most kind letter, or to thank you for your goodness in giving me the liberty to defer answering it. Waving those articles, as well as the title you have indulged me with to remain silent, I beg to address a word to you rather than any one else, to acknowledge my having enjoyed the pleasure intended me, from the paper you enclosed.⁽¹⁾ I was charmed with what you call the liberties taken with my name.

I shall at least be happy in a claim of blood to

(1) The enclosure here referred to was a copy of an Inscription, to commemorate the victories obtained during the father's first administration.

remember the glories that once accompanied it ; and it will be my ambition not to injure them.

Without endeavouring further to express faintly the strong ideas that present themselves, I shall avail myself of your indulgence to close this letter, and join to this honourable name the pleasing title, that I am, my dear mother,

Your ever dutiful

and affectionate son,

WILLIAM PITT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO STEPHEN SAYRE, ESQ.

Hayes, Saturday night, October 8, 1774.

DEAR SIR,

YOUR kind letter of the 6th instant ⁽¹⁾, which reached me only this evening, adds not a little, both from what it says, and what it does not say, to all the anxious forebodings which fill my mind on

(¹) "The affairs of America," writes Mr. Sayre, in this letter, "grow critical every moment. There is the most alarming appearance ; but I hope the sword will not be unsheathed, or if it is, that matters may be amicably settled by an able minister. The leading people of the provinces do all in their power to preserve peace and tranquillity. My principal reason for troubling your Lordship with this letter is, that, as you wish well to Lord Mahon, your Lordship should intimate to Lord Temple the propriety of dissuading Mr. Cotes from demanding a poll for Westminster ; who may otherways do much mischief to the election, without a possibility of serving himself. I had the good fortune to bring the friends of liberty at the Standard Tavern (who will have great influence in the election) into good humour at their last meeting."

that most interesting object of all public concerns, the fate of America. What the late accounts are, I know not; surely not less momentous for being so industriously withheld.

The very kind and friendly share you have taken at the Standard⁽¹⁾ can never be forgot. What the events will be, I do not conjecture, because I do not understand the times. If there be a public cause and true friends of liberty, can a genuine son of freedom, and votary of public good, pure from the taint of any faction, suffer a repulse, where every elector has liberty in his mouth? In the present state of Westminster, should Mr. Cotes demand a poll, it cannot be to serve the cause, or, indeed, himself. For various reasons, however, I do not think it proper to trouble Lord Temple on the occasion. The true friends of liberty are able to carry through the work of liberty if they please. If little manœuvres can defeat great and generous purposes, it is more than time for virtue to retire. But I will not suppose Lord Mahon would lose his election in Westminster, even if Mr. Cotes should demand a poll.⁽²⁾ I write with some difficulty: so allow me to bid you adieu without ceremony. My dear Sir, your most faithful and obliged

CHATHAM.

(1) A tavern in Leicester Square, at which the electors of Westminster occasionally held meetings.

(2) Humphrey Cotes, the intimate friend of Wilkes. At the election in October, he demanded a poll, but only one hundred and thirty electors voted for him. The successful candidates were Earl Percy and Lord Pelham Clinton.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO STEPHEN SAYRE, ESQ.

Hayes, December 24, 1774.

DEAR SIR,

SOON after I had the pleasure of seeing you, I received the extracts from the votes and proceedings of the American Congress⁽¹⁾, printed and published by order at Philadelphia, and which had been withheld from me, as the letters to others had been. I have not words to express my satisfaction, that the Congress has conducted this most arduous and delicate business, with such manly wisdom and calm resolution, as do the highest honour to their deliberations. Very few are the things contained in their resolves, that I could wish had been otherwise. Upon the whole, I think it must be evident to every unprejudiced man in England who feels for the rights of mankind, that America, under all her oppressions and provocations, holds forth to us the most fair and just opening, for restoring harmony and affectionate intercourse as heretofore.

I trust that the minds of men are more than beginning to change on this great subject, so little understood; and that it will be found impossible for freemen in England, to wish to see three millions of Englishmen slaves in America.

I am, with great esteem, &c. &c.

CHATHAM.

(1) Among these proceedings of Congress were a declaration of rights to which the colonies considered themselves entitled, a petition to the King, and a memorial to the people of England.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

January 16, 1775.

I CANNOT let the kind courier return without a word to my dear love. I found the most obliging despatch from your friendly master of hospitality ⁽¹⁾, on my return from Camden Place just before dinner. I had been talking enough to very satisfactory purpose. I can assure my life, that I am pretty stout; though abler to talk than to write, my hand being a little weak. I rejoice that your dress-labours are in a fair way. I will send on Wednesday the important Tilley, in order to receive news of the *action* the same night; so pray do not fail to write to me on Wednesday evening. I beg you will send positive and certain information if the House of Lords meets on Thursday, or not till Friday. I fear jockeyship, am resolved to be there on the first day of meeting, and wish you would tell Lord Stanhope, that I shall propose something relative to America on the first day; which purpose I wish to have generally known and propagated, as early as may be. Captain Hood will be apprized from you of the same. Lord Stanhope shall receive the motion, as soon as I can settle it. Dear children all well: be well your dear self, and all is well. Adieu.

CHATHAM.

(1) Captain Alexander Hood; at whose house in Harley Street Lady Chatham was staying.

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

January 18, 1775.

I THINK it important, that you should know what infinite pains are taken to circulate an authoritative report, that you are *determined* to give yourself *no* trouble upon American affairs, and that, for certain, you do not mean to come to town. It is so strong, that it proves how much there is to be afraid of, of jockeyship, and whatever is bad. Let me recommend to you to have a great attention to yourself; and pray let Wielbier and sage Pam join in examining that windows are down, doors shut, &c., that you may not be *made* to catch cold. Our friends have met to-day Lord Ancram⁽¹⁾, Palliser⁽²⁾, and more, who lamented, with the greatest anxiety, the assurance of your not being to come, and that without you the nation was undone. I am almost shaken about my court to-morrow, since I heard all this.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

January 18, 1775.

MY DEAREST LOVE,

WILLIAM and I, being deep in work for the state, a word only must go to you, to desire you will go

(1) By the death of his father, in the following April, his Lordship became fifth Marquis of Lothian.

(2) Sir Hugh Palliser, who had served under Sir Charles Saunders at the siege of Quebec. He was at this time member for Scarborough. After having been made admiral of the white, and governor of Scarborough Castle, he died in 1796.

on and prosper in the circle to-morrow. For God's sake, sweet life, don't disquiet yourself about the impudent and ridiculous lie of the hour. The plot does lie very deep. It is only a pitiful device of fear; court fear, and faction fear. If gout does not put in a veto, which I trust in Heaven it will not, I will be in the House of Lords on Friday, then and there to make a motion relative to America. Be of good cheer, noble love —

“Yes, I am proud — I must be proud — to see,
Men not afraid of God, afraid of me.”

Look fresh and merrily to-morrow, and I will *look* to doors and windows. So to my dear Secretary! I wish *somebody* had as good and as honest an one.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO EARL STANHOPE.

[From the original in the possession of Earl Stanhope.]

January 19, 1775.

MY DEAR LORD,

I MEAN to-morrow to touch only the threshold of American business and knock at the minister's door to wake him, as well as show I attend to America. I shall move for an address, to send orders immediately for removing the forces from the town of Boston as soon as practicable. Be so good as not to communicate what my intended motion is to any one whatever; but the more it is known and

propagated that I am to make a motion *relative to America* the better. Adieu till to-morrow, my dear Lord. I greatly wish Dr. Franklin may be in the House, if the House is open to others than members of parliament.

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Thursday night, January 19, 1775.

I CANNOT go to sleep with a clear conscience, without a word of thanks for the welcome and interesting packet, brought by the discreet Pam. America is deeply entered upon her defence, and seems to put more of solidity and prudence into *her* plan, than the wiseacres who surround his Majesty have known how to give to *their* schemes of destruction. An army of safety and observation is specious in sound and real in effect. I am happy to understand that our loved Pitt is not in the army of impotence and derision.

How long is this betrayed country to remain a prey to the vilest of domestic enemies? This question seems not easy to answer. By your note on the *barometer* of Pall Mall, nothing opens there. Your duchesses and archbishops *littering* all the streets with cards, to catch you in your passage, is

indeed flattering enough. I am anxious to hear how our dear couple ⁽¹⁾ came off. As for gracious

(1) Lord and Lady Mahon, who were to be presented on their marriage, which had been celebrated on the 19th of December; upon which occasion, the following Lines were addressed to Lord Mahon by the Reverend Francis Fawkes, rector of Hayes, the friend of Dr. Johnson, and the successful translator of Anacreon: —

“ When gentle hearts in faithful union join,
And mix the Hero's with the Patriot line,
With every charm uniting every grace,
And all the virtues of the Temple race,
The happy omen we with joy admit,
And bless the match of STANHOPE and of PITT.”

Lord Chatham's other daughter, Lady Harriot Pitt, married, in 1785, the Honourable Edward James Eliot, the eldest son of the first Lord Eliot, and descendant of that Sir John Eliot, whose faithful love for the constitution of England, though it cost him his own liberty and life, has embalmed his name in the memory of his country. Lady Harriot died in the following year, leaving a daughter. The subjoined Verses were addressed by Mr. Pitt to Harriot, wife of Richard Eliot, Esq., grandfather to the present Earl of St. Germans. This lady was married in 1726, and had three children at the age of nineteen:

“ To view that airy mien, that lively face,
Where youth and spirit shine with easy grace,
We form some sportive nymph of Phœbe's train,
Some sprightly virgin of the sacred plain:
But — lo! a happy progeny proclaim
Love's golden shafts, and Hymen's genial flame.
So the gay orange in some sylvan scene
Blooms fair and smiles with never-fading green,
Her flow'ring head with vernal beauty crown'd
Speaks tender youth and sheds perfume around,
While fruits ambrosial deck the lovely tree,
The heavenly pledge of blest maturity,
In pleasing contrast with surprise we sing
The fruits of Autumn and the bloom of Spring.”*

* The occasion which inspired these impromptu lines was related by the lady to whom they were addressed to her eldest daughter Mrs. Bonfoy, and

verbiage, I make but small account of such moonshine.⁽¹⁾ A thousand kind wishes to our truly affectionate friends.

Your loving husband,

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELburnE.

Hayes, Thursday night, January 19, 1775.

HAVING just learnt, my dear Lord, from Lady Chatham who had the honour of a visit from your Lordship, that your country life was over, for some time at least, and your humble servant meaning to look the *Tapestry* and the Bishops in the face to-

(¹) In a letter, written on the morning of this day, Lady Chatham had said: — “Saw brother Temple; the *barometer* gloomy weather. Duchesses, grandees, and others, have dropped their cards of visits to me in every street, I think. Her Grace of Bedford at Wielbier’s; her young Grace of Portland at Lord Temple’s; her Dowager Grace of Portland in Queen Anne’s street.* The seeking so much about to be civil is flattering at least. His Grace the Archbishop of York lost half an hour in looking for me at *your house* in Bond Street, when at last he found Wielbier’s humble roof.”

hence repeated to her great-graughter Miss. Eliot, now Lady Pringle, who thus describes it: — “Mr. Pitt, being one day in company with Mrs. Eliot in a house in the country, withdrew from the conversation to an adjoining window, and being asked by her what he was doing, replied, ‘Drawing your picture, Madam;’ and immediately recited these verses.”

* Lord Stanhope’s.

morrow, allow me to communicate to your Lordship the motion I think of making. It is an address to send immediate orders for removing the forces from Boston, as soon as the season may render the same practicable. This is only entering on the threshold of American business, and knocking at the door of a sleeping or confounded ministry.⁽¹⁾ Your Lordship's own intuition will best suggest to you how much field this opens, without precluding further thoughts on the main business. Pardon this liberty, my dear Lord, and believe me ever

Your most faithful

CHATHAM.

Having had no communication of purposes from others, I have made none to any.

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT TO THE
COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Bond Street, Saturday, January 21, 1775.

MY DEAR MOTHER,

MY father is now getting up, and has had, I am told, a good night. I have this minute been to him with your message, which he cannot answer till he is up and has breakfasted; as he cannot form his

⁽¹⁾ It will be seen at p. 378. that these words occur in Hugh Boyd's report of Lord Chatham's speech.

resolution about coming till then. In the mean time, I offer a word or two in answer to your letter.

Nothing prevented his speech from being the most forcible that can be imagined, and administration fully felt it. The matter and manner both were striking; far beyond what I can express. It was every thing that was superior; and though it had not the desired effect on an obdurate House of Lords, it must have an infinite effect without doors, the bar being crowded with Americans⁽¹⁾, &c. Lord

(1) Dr. Franklin, who was present on this memorable occasion, gives, in his *Memoirs*, the following account of his introduction, by Lord Chatham, to the House of Lords:—“On the 19th of January, I received a card from Lord Stanhope, acquainting me that Lord Chatham having a motion to make on the morrow in the House of Lords concerning America, greatly desired that I might be in the House, into which Lord S. would endeavour to procure me admittance. At this time it was a rule of the House, that no person could introduce more than one friend. The next morning, his Lordship let me know by another card, that if I attended at two o’clock in the lobby, Lord Chatham would be there about that time, and would himself introduce me. On my mentioning to him what Lord Stanhope had written to me, he said, ‘Certainly, and I shall do it with the more pleasure, as I am sure your presence at this day’s debate will be of more service to America than mine;’ and so taking me by the arm, was leading me along the passage to the door that enters near the throne, when one of the door-keepers followed, and acquainted him that by the order, none were to be carried in at that door, but the eldest sons or brothers of peers; on which he limped back with me to the door near the bar, where were standing a number of gentlemen waiting for the peers who were to introduce them, and some peers waiting for friends they expected to introduce; among whom he delivered me to the door-keepers, saying aloud, ‘This is Dr. Franklin, whom I would have admitted into the House;’ when they readily opened the door for me accordingly. As it had not been publicly known that there was any communication

Suffolk, I cannot say answered him, but — spoke after him. He was a contemptible orator indeed, with paltry matter and a whining delivery. Lord Shelburne spoke well, and supported the motion warmly. Lord Camden was *supreme*, with only *one* exception, and as zealous as possible. Lord Rockingham spoke shortly but sensibly ; and the Duke of Richmond well, and with much candour as to the Declaratory act. Upon the whole, it was a noble debate. The ministry were violent beyond expectation, almost to madness. Instead of recalling the troops now there, they talked of sending more, &c.

I can now tell you correctly : my father has slept well, without any burning in the feet or restlessness. He has had no pain, but is lame in one ankle near the instep, from standing so long. No wonder he is lame : his first speech lasted above an hour, and the second half an hour — surely, the two finest speeches that ever were made before, unless by himself! ⁽¹⁾ He will be with you to dinner by four

between his Lordship and me, this, I found, occasioned some speculation. His appearance in the House, I observed, caused a kind of bustle among the officers, who were hurried in sending messengers for members, I suppose those in connection with the ministry, something of importance being expected when that great man appears ; it being but seldom that his infirmities permit his attendance.”

⁽¹⁾ The following report of these celebrated speeches was taken by Mr. Hugh Boyd, and were published by Dodsley, in the year 1779 : —

The Earl of *Chatham* rose ; and, after strongly inveighing against the dilatoriness of administration, proceeded as follows : — “ But as I have not the honour of access to his Majesty, I will endeavour to transmit

o'clock. Adieu, my dear mother. A thousand loves to all around you. I wish I had time and

to him, through the constitutional channel of this House, my ideas of America, to rescue him from the misadvice of his present ministers. I congratulate your Lordships, that the business is *at last* entered upon, by the noble Lord's laying the papers before you. As I suppose your Lordships too well apprized of their contents, I hope I am not premature in submitting to you my present motion.

“ ‘That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to desire and beseech his Majesty, that in order to open the way towards a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there ; and, above all, for preventing, in the mean time, any sudden and fatal catastrophe at Boston, now suffering under the daily irritation of an army before their eyes, posted in their town, it may graciously please his Majesty, that immediate orders be despatched to General Gage, for removing his Majesty's forces from the town of Boston, as soon as the rigour of the season, and other circumstances indispensable to the safety and accommodation of the said troops, may render the same practicable.’

“ I wish, my Lords, not to lose a day in this urgent, pressing crisis ; an hour now lost in allaying ferments in America may produce years of calamity : for my own part, I will not desert, for a moment, the conduct of this weighty business, from the first to the last : unless nailed to my bed by the extremity of sickness, I will give it unremitted attention ; I will knock at the door of this sleeping and confounded ministry, and will rouse them to a sense of their impending danger.

“ When I state the importance of the colonies to this country, and the magnitude of danger hanging over this country from the present plan of mis-administration practised against them, I desire not to be understood to argue for a reciprocity of indulgence between England and America. I contend not for indulgence, but justice to America ; and I shall ever contend, that the Americans justly owe obedience to us in a limited degree — they owe obedience to our ordinances of trade and navigation ; but let the line be skilfully drawn between the objects of those ordinances and their private, internal property ; let the sacredness of their property remain inviolate ; let it be taxable only by their own consent, given in their provincial assemblies, else *it will cease to be property*. As to the metaphysical refinements, attempting to show that the Americans are equally free from obedience and commercial restraints, as from taxation for revenue, as being unrepresented here, I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundless.

“ When I urge this measure of recalling the troops from Boston, I urge it on this pressing principle, that it is necessarily preparatory to the restoration of your peace, and the establishment of your prosperity.

memory to give an account of all I heard, and all I felt. Your ever dutiful son,

WILLIAM PITT.

It will then appear that you are disposed to treat amicably and equitably; and to consider, revise, and repeal, if it should be found necessary, as I affirm it will, those violent acts and declarations which have disseminated confusion throughout your empire.

“Resistance to your acts was necessary as it was just; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally impotent to convince, or to enslave your fellow-subjects in America, who feel that tyranny, whether *ambitioned* by an individual part of the legislature or the bodies who compose it, is equally intolerable to British subjects.

“The means of enforcing this thralldom are found to be as ridiculous and weak in practice, as they are unjust in principle. Indeed, I cannot but feel the most anxious sensibility for the situation of General Gage, and the troops under his command; thinking him, as I do, a man of humanity and understanding; and entertaining, as I ever will, the highest respect, the warmest love, for the British troops. Their situation is truly unworthy; penn’d up—pining in inglorious inactivity. They are an army of impotence. You may call them an army of safety and of guard—but they are in truth an army of impotence and contempt; and, to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation and vexation.

“But I find a report creeping abroad, that ministers censure General Gage’s inactivity: let *them* censure him—it becomes them—it becomes their *justice* and their *honour*. I mean not to censure his inactivity; it is a prudent and necessary inaction: but it is a miserable condition, where disgrace is prudence, and where it is necessary to be contemptible. This tameness, however contemptible, cannot be censured; for the first drop of blood shed in civil and unnatural war might be *immedicabile vulnus*.

“I therefore urge and conjure your Lordships immediately to adopt this conciliating measure. I will pledge myself for its immediately producing conciliatory effects, by its being thus well-timed: but if you delay till your vain hope shall be accomplished, of triumphantly dictating reconciliation, you delay for ever. But, admitting that this hope, which in truth is desperate, should be accomplished, what do you gain by the imposition of your victorious amity?—you will be untrusted and unthanked. Adopt, then, the grace, while you have the opportunity, of reconciliation; or at least prepare the way. Allay the ferment prevailing in America, by removing the obnoxious hostile cause—obnoxious and unserviceable; for their merit can be only inaction: ‘*Non dimicare et vincere*’—their victory can never be by exertions.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Hayes, Saturday night, January 21, 1775.

I WAS extremely sorry, my dear Lord, to leave town this noon without having the honour to wait

Their force would be most disproportionately exerted against a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands, and courage in their hearts : — three millions of people, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of a superstitious tyranny. — And is the spirit of persecution never to be appeased ? Are the brave sons of those brave forefathers to inherit their sufferings, as they have inherited their virtues ? Are they to sustain the infliction of the most oppressive and unexampled severity, beyond the accounts of history, or description of poetry : ‘ *Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna, castigatque, AUDITQUE.*’ So says the wisest poet, and perhaps the wisest statesman and politician — But our ministers say, *the Americans must not be heard.* They have been condemned *unheard.* — The indiscriminate hand of vengeance has lumped together innocent and guilty ; with all the formalities of hostility, has blocked up the town (Boston), and reduced to beggary and famine thirty thousand inhabitants.

“ But his Majesty is advised, that the union in America cannot last ! Ministers have more eyes than I, and should have more ears ; but with all the information I have been able to procure, I can pronounce it an union, solid, permanent, and effectual. Ministers may satisfy themselves, and delude the public, with the report of what they call commercial bodies in America. They are *not* commercial ; they are your packers and factors : they live upon nothing — for I call commission nothing. I mean the ministerial *authority* for this American intelligence ; the runners for government, who are paid for their intelligence. But these are not the men, nor this the influence, to be considered in America, when we estimate the firmness of their union. Even to extend the question, and to take in the really mercantile circle, will be totally inadequate to the consideration. Trade indeed increases the wealth and glory of a country ; but its real strength and stamina are to be looked for among the cultivators of the land : in their simplicity of life is found the simpleness of virtue — the integrity and courage of freedom. These true genuine sons of the earth are invincible : and they surround

on your Lordship ; but some sensations of gout rendered it necessary that I should get home and

and hem in the mercantile bodies ; even if these bodies, which supposition I totally disclaim, could be supposed disaffected to the cause of liberty. Of this general spirit existing in the British nation (for so I wish to distinguish the real and genuine Americans from the pseudo-traders I have described) — of this spirit of independence, animating the *nation* of America, I have the most authentic information. It is not new among them ; it is, and has ever been, their established principle, their confirmed persuasion : it is their nature, and their doctrine.

“ I remember, some years ago, when the repeal of the stamp-act was in agitation, conversing in a friendly confidence with a person of undoubted respect and authenticity on that subject ; and he assured me with a certainty which his judgment and opportunity gave him, that these were the prevalent and steady principles of America — that you might destroy their towns, and cut them off from the superfluities, perhaps the conveniences, of life ; but that they were prepared to despise your power, and would not lament their loss, whilst they have — what, my Lords ? — their *woods* and their *liberty*. The name of my authority, if I am called upon, will authenticate the opinion irrefragably.*

“ If illegal violences have been, as it is said, committed in America, prepare the way, open the door of possibility, for acknowledgment and satisfaction : but proceed not to such coercion, such proscription ; cease your indiscriminate inflictions ; amerce not thirty thousand ; oppress not three millions, for the fault of forty or fifty individuals. Such severity of injustice must for ever render incurable the wounds you have already given your colonies ; you irritate them to unappeasable rancour. What though you march from town to town, and from province to province ; though you should be able to enforce a temporary and local submission, which I only suppose, not admit — how shall you be able to secure the obedience of the country you leave behind you in your progress, to grasp the dominion of eighteen hundred miles of continent, populous in numbers, possessing valour, liberty, and resistance ?

“ This resistance to your arbitrary system of taxation might have been foreseen : it was obvious from the nature of things, and of mankind ; above all, from the Whiggish spirit flourishing in that country. The spirit which now resists your taxation in America is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship-money, in England : the same spirit which called all England *on its legs*, and by the Bill of Rights vindicated the English constitution : the same spirit which established the great fundamental, essential maxim of your liberties, *that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent*.

* It was Dr. Franklin.

lay up my leg a little. With this precaution and a day's quiet, I hope to be in condition to attend the

“ This glorious spirit of Whiggism animates three millions in America ; who prefer poverty with liberty, to gilded chains and sordid affluence ; and who will die in defence of their rights as men, as freemen. What shall oppose this spirit, aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breasts of every Whig in England, to the amount, I hope, of double the American numbers ? Ireland they have to a man. In that country, joined as it is with the cause of the colonies, and placed at their head, the distinction I contend for is and must be observed. This country superintends and controls their trade and navigation ; but they *tax themselves*. And this distinction between external and internal control is sacred and insurmountable ; it is involved in the abstract nature of things. Property is private, individual, absolute. Trade is an extended and complicated consideration : it reaches as far as ships can sail or winds can blow : it is a great and various machine. To regulate the numberless movements of its several parts, and combine them into effect, for the good of the whole, requires the superintending wisdom and energy of the supreme power in the empire. But this supreme power has no effect towards internal taxation ; for it does not exist in that relation ; there is no such thing, *no such idea in this constitution, as a supreme power operating upon property*. Let this distinction then remain for ever ascertained ; taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours. As an American, I would recognise to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation : as an Englishman by birth and principle, I recognise to the Americans their supreme unalienable right in their property ; a right which they are justified in the defence of to the last extremity. To maintain this principle is the common cause of the Whigs on the other side of the Atlantic, and on this. ‘ ’Tis liberty to liberty engaged,’ that they will defend themselves, their families, and their country. In this great cause they are immovably allied : it is the alliance of God and nature — immutable, eternal — fixed as the firmament of heaven.

“ To such united force, what force shall be opposed ? — What, my Lords ? — A few regiments in America, and seventeen or eighteen thousand men at home ! — The idea is too ridiculous to take up a moment of your Lordships’ time. Nor can such a national and principled union be resisted by the tricks of office, or ministerial manœuvre. Laying of papers on your table, or counting numbers on a division, will not avert or postpone the hour of danger : it must arrive, my Lords, unless these fatal acts are done away ; it must arrive in all its horrors, and then these boastful ministers, spite of all their confidence, and all their manœuvres, shall be forced to hide their heads. They shall be forced

House on Monday, if the Merchant's petition is certainly to come to us on that day. If that is not

to a disgraceful abandonment of their present measures and principles, which they avow, but cannot defend ; measures which they presume to attempt, but cannot hope to effectuate. They cannot, my Lords, they cannot stir a step ; they have not a *move* left ; they are *check-mated*.

“ But it is not repealing this act of parliament, it is not repealing a *piece of parchment*, that can restore America to our bosom : you must repeal her fears and her resentments ; and you may then hope for her love and gratitude. But now, insulted with an armed force, posted at Boston ; irritated with an hostile array before her eyes, her concessions, if you *could* force them, would be suspicious and insecure ; they will be *irato animo* ; they will not be the sound honourable passions of freemen, they will be the dictates of fear, and extortions of force. But it is more than evident, that you cannot force them, united as they are, to your unworthy terms of submission — it is impossible ; and when I hear General Gage censured for inactivity, I must retort with indignation on those, whose intemperate measures and improvident councils have betrayed him into his present situation. His situation reminds me, my Lords, of the answer of a French General in the civil wars of France — Monsieur Condé opposed to Monsieur Turenne : he was asked, how it happened that he did not take his adversary prisoner, as he was often very near him : ‘ *J’ai peur,*’ replied Condé, very honestly, ‘ *j’ai peur qu’il ne me prenne ;*’ — I’m afraid he’ll take me.

“ When your Lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America ; when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation — and it has been my favourite study — I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master-states of the world — that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your Lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental *nation*, must be vain, must be fatal. We shall be *forced ultimately to retract* ; let us retract while we can, not when we must. I say we must necessarily undo these violent oppressive acts : *they must be repealed — you will repeal them ; I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them ; I stake my reputation on it : — I will consent to be taken for an idiot, if they are not finally repealed.* — Avoid, then, this humiliating,

the fixed measure, may I entreat the favour of your Lordship to have the goodness to apprise me by

disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to peace and happiness: for *that* is your true dignity, to act with prudence and justice. That *you* should first concede is obvious, from sound and rational policy. Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from superior power; it reconciles superiority of power with the feelings of men; and establishes solid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude.

“So thought a wise poet and a wise man in political sagacity—the friend of Mæcenas, and the eulogist of Augustus. To him, the adopted son and successor, the first Cæsar, to him, the master of the world, he wisely urged this conduct of prudence and dignity: ‘*Tuque prior, tu parce; projice tela manu.*’

“Every motive, therefore, of justice and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America—by a removal of your troops from Boston—by a repeal of your acts of parliament—and by demonstration amicable dispositions towards your colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend, to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures.—Foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread: France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors;—with a vigilant eye to America, and the temper of your colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may.

“To conclude, my Lords: If the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say, that they *can* alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm, *that they will make the crown not worth his wearing*—I will not say that the King is betrayed; but I will pronounce, *that the kingdom is undone.*”

After the motion had been warmly supported by the Earl of Shelburne and Lord Camden, and opposed by Lord Suffolk and Lord Lyttelton—

The Earl of Chatham again rose. He said, that “if the noble Lord (Lyttelton) should prove correct in suggesting, that the views of the Americans were ultimately directed to abrogate the act of navigation and the other regulatory acts, so wisely calculated to promote a reciprocity of interests, and to advance the grandeur and prosperity of the whole empire, no person present, however zealous, would be readier than himself to resist and to crush their endeavours: but to arrive at any certain knowledge of the real sentiments of the Americans, it would first be proper to do them justice—to treat them like subjects, before we condemned them as aliens and traitors. He entirely acqui-

the return of my servant what day is settled for that operation; to which I would on no account be wanting, by failing in personal appearance and due respect. I am, &c.

CHATHAM.

DOCTOR FRANKLIN TO EARL STANHOPE.

[From the original in his handwriting.]

Craven Street, January 23, 1775.

DR. FRANKLIN presents his best respects to Lord Stanhope, with many thanks to his Lordship and Lord Chatham, for the communication of so authentic a copy of the motion. Dr. Franklin is filled with admiration of that truly great man! He has seen, in the course of life, sometimes elo-

eeded in the sentiments of his noble friend (Lord Camden), that the present was not a subject adapted to minute metaphysical discussion. Property was a simple subject, distinct, unconnected with the variously complex ideas in which other political questions were inevitably involved. He maintained, and said he ever should maintain, that the right which God, nature, and the constitution had given a British subject to his property was invariably inalienable, without his own consent, and that no power under heaven could touch it without that consent either implied or expressly and directly given. He treated the idea, that taxation was included in legislation, as ridiculous and absurd. He contended that they were two operations, totally distinct from each other; that the latter evidently originated from the power vested in the legislative great council, to control, direct, and superintend the interests of the whole society, for the benefit of all; whilst the former was inseparably connected with property, and must for ever adapt itself to the true nature and disposition of property in general."

The House divided; contents eighteen, not contents sixty-eight.

quence without wisdom, and often wisdom without eloquence : in the present instance, he sees both united, and both, as he thinks, in the highest degree possible.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELburnE.

Hayes, January 25, 1775.

MY DEAR LORD,

ABUNDANCE of very sincere thanks accompany this packet of extracts⁽¹⁾, which your Lordship's great goodness to your country humble servant had the flattering attention to convey to me through Lord Mahon. What a correspondence ! It calls to my mind what some Pope, Alexander the Sixth, Jules, or Leo, said to a son of his, afraid to undertake *governing*, that is, *confounding*, the Christian world, " nescis, mi fili, quam parvâ sapientiâ hic noster mundus regitur." ⁽²⁾ What a dialogue between Secretary of State and General in such a crisis ! Could these bundles reach the shades below, the remarks of Ximenes and of Cortez upon them would be amusing.

I do not wonder that the merchants are grown *in earnest*. What unaccountable manœuvre checked the vigour of their first operation ? I hope now at

(1) From the papers relating to the disturbances in America; which had been laid before both Houses on the 19th.

(2) This advice has been attributed, by various writers, to Gustavus Adolphus's chancellor, Baron Oxenstiern.

least the good men and true amongst them will be no longer dupes of half wisdom, or entire collusion. Where all is to end I do not conjecture ; in perdition, I fear. The three regiments are trifling, and the dragoons put me in mind of “ *le régiment de cavalerie sur les galères de Malte,*” in a scene of Molière. ⁽¹⁾ Adieu, my dear Lord, till I embrace you in town ; which I hope to do soon, if I hold out this severe weather. Your Lordship’s ever faithful and affectionate

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE EARL OF
SHELBURNE.

Hayes, Tuesday evening, January 31, 1775.

MY DEAR LORD,

NOT a moment can be lost, for whoever has any thing to offer to the public, for preventing a civil war, before it is inevitably fixed. I mean therefore to obey the necessity, and propose to-morrow in the House, gout permitting, my thoughts on this weighty business.

I lament to be forced to do this, so entirely at the peril of my own discretion, and without the guidance of lights and authorities so superior to my own ; but I say, with the simplicity of a poor American, God’s will be done ! and let the old and new world be my judge ! I feel at least that I am

(1) “*Les Précieuses Ridicules,*” scene xii.

likely to have a too partial jury in your Lordship, and some of your more immediate friends, Mr. Barré and Mr. Dunning, who, in my scales, outweigh majorities.

Pardon this hasty line, my dear Lord, from one who wishes, but despairs, to save the country.

Your ever faithfully devoted

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO EARL STANHOPE.

[From the original in the possession of Earl Stanhope.]

Hayes, Tuesday night, January 31, 1775.

MY DEAR LORD,

HAVING learned that the doom against America is to be pronounced from the treasury bench, perhaps in a few hours, no time is to be lost in offering my poor thoughts to the public, for preventing a civil war, before it is inevitably fixed. This sore constraint forces me, even as early as to-morrow, (being Wednesday), to deliver my Plan⁽¹⁾ to the

(1) "As in the course of the recent debate," says Dr. Franklin, "some lords in the administration had observed, that it was common and easy to censure their measures, but those who did so proposed nothing better, Lord Chatham mentioned that he should not be one of those idle censurers; that he had thought long and closely upon the subject, and proposed soon to lay before their lordships the result of his meditation, in a Plan for healing our differences, and restoring peace to the empire, to which his present motion was preparatory: I much desired to know what his plan was, and intended waiting on him to see if he would communicate it to me; but he went the next morning to Hayes, and I was so much taken up with daily business and company, that I could not easily get out to him. A few days after, however,

House, if gout, which is about me, permits me to come to town. I feel all the weight of so great a

Lord Mahon called on me, and told me Lord Chatham was very desirous of seeing me ; when I promised to be with him the Friday following, several engagements preventing my going sooner. On Friday, the 27th, I took a post-chaise about nine o'clock, and got to Hayes about eleven ; but my attention being engaged in reading a new pamphlet, the postboy drove me a mile or two beyond the gate. His Lordship, being out on an airing in his chariot, had met me, before I reached Hayes, unobserved by me, turned and followed me, and not finding me there, concluded, as he had seen me reading, that I had passed by mistake, and sent a servant after me. He expressed great pleasure at my coming, and acquainted me, in a long conversation, with the outlines of his plan, parts of which he read to me. He said he had communicated it only to Lord Camden ; whose advice he much relied on, particularly in the law part ; and that he would, as soon as he could get it transcribed, put it into my hands, for my opinion and advice, but should show it to no other person before he presented it to the House ; and he requested me to make no mention of it, otherwise parts might be misunderstood and blown upon beforehand, and others, perhaps, adopted and produced by ministers as their own. I promised the closest secrecy, and kept my word ; not even mentioning to any one that I had seen him. I dined with him, his family only present, and returned to town in the evening. On the Sunday following, being the 29th, his Lordship came to town, and called upon me in Craven Street. He brought with him his plan transcribed, in the form of an act of parliament, which he put into my hands, requesting me to consider it carefully, and communicate to him such remarks upon it as should occur to me. His reason for desiring to give me that trouble, was, as he was pleased to say, that he knew no man so thoroughly acquainted with the subject, or so capable of giving advice upon it ; that he thought the errors of ministers in American affairs had been often owing to their not obtaining the best information ; that, therefore, though he had considered the business thoroughly, in all its parts, he was not so confident of his own judgment, but that he came to set it right by mine, as men set their watches by a regulator. He had not determined when he should produce it in the House of Lords ; but, in the course of our conversation, considering the precarious situation of his health, and that, if presenting it was delayed, some intelligence might arrive which would make it seem less seasonable, or in all parts not so proper, or the ministry might engage in different measures, and then say, if you had produced your plan sooner, we might have attended to it, he concluded to offer it the Wednesday following ; and therefore wished to see me upon it the preceding Tuesday, when he would again call upon

matter, thrown out at the peril of my poor discretion. I shall be finely abused for my *dictatorial* presumption; but I had rather, in this exigency, be

me, unless I could conveniently come to Hayes. I chose the latter, in respect to his Lordship, and because there was less likelihood of interruptions; and I promised to be with him early, that we might have more time. He staid with me near two hours, his equipage waiting at the door; and being there while people were coming from church, it was much taken notice of and talked of, as at that time was every little circumstance that men thought might possibly any way affect American affairs. Such a visit from so great a man, on so important a business, flattered not a little my vanity; and the honour of it gave me the more pleasure, as it happened on the very day twelve months that the ministry had taken so much pains to disgrace me before the privy council. I put down upon paper, as I went along, some short memorandums for my future discourse with him upon it, which follow, that you may, if you please, compare them with the plan; and if you do so, you will see their drift and purpose, which otherwise would take me much writing to explain.

“I was at Hayes early on Tuesday, agreeably to my promise, when we entered into consideration of the plan; but though I stayed near four hours, his Lordship, in the manner of, I think, all eloquent persons, was so full and diffuse in supporting every particular I questioned, that there was not time to go through half my memorandums. He is not easily interrupted, and I had such pleasure in hearing him, that I found little inclination to interrupt him; therefore, considering that neither of us had much expectation that the plan would be adopted entirely as it stood; that in the course of its consideration, if it should be received, proper alterations might be introduced; that before it would be settled America should have opportunity to make her objections and propositions of amendment; that to have it received at all here, it must seem to comply a little with some of the prevailing prejudices of the legislature; that if it was not so perfect as might be wished, it would at least serve as a basis for treaty, and in the mean time prevent mischiefs; and that as his Lordship had determined to offer it the next day, there was not time to make changes and another fair copy: — I therefore ceased my querying; and though afterwards many people were pleased to do me the honour of supposing I had a considerable share in composing it, I assure you, that the addition of a single word only was made at my instance, viz. ‘*Constitution*,’ after ‘*Charters* ;’ for my filling up at his request a blank with the title of acts proper to be repealed, which I took from the proceedings of the Congress, was no more than might have been done by any copying clerk.”—*Memoirs*, p. 255.

blamed for attempting, than applauded for suppressing. The more it is divulged that I am to do this to-morrow, the better. Pardon this hasty line from one, who wishes to try the *impossible thing*, when he sees a country running upon perdition. Adieu, my dear Lord, till to-morrow.

Your ever affectionate

CHATHAM.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Whitehall, February 1, 1775.

MY LORD,

YOUR Lordship has done me great honour in the letter you have taken the trouble to write me last night, to inform me, that you intended to lay before the House to-day a plan for settling the differences with America. Whatever comes from your Lordship will at all times command the attention of every man who thinks at all for his country; but in the present moment, when the measures to be adopted must, as I conceive, decide upon every thing that can be momentous to a nation; when, not only our trade, our riches, and our greatness are so deeply concerned, but also the liberties of America, and probably those of England too; I, who have the honour to concur with your Lordship in every Whiggish sentiment you delivered in the House on Friday se'nnight, shall most certainly at-

tend, and shall be happy to give what support I can to any plan that shall appear to be well calculated to prevent the impending civil war, and to reconcile America. Your Lordship's very obliging expressions, in the latter part of your letter, demand my most respectful acknowledgments: the best return I can make, is to be fair and open. I do assure your Lordship, that if I wished to be informed of your last motion before it came on, and now wish I knew what plan your Lordship intends to propose to-day, my sentiments proceed from the most friendly motives. I wish for communication and consultation between those who mean the same thing, only the better to answer the objects we all have in view: that by talking over business, it may be better understood; that little differences of opinion may be settled by fair discussion, and mutual giving way, or at least that they may not appear in public; and, lastly, that those who are to support a question may be prepared so to do. I am not attached to punctilious ceremony, and for my own part would readily forego the most usual attentions; I am only anxious for such as are necessary for carrying on business. The importance of the present object, and the desperate temerity of the ministry, make it peculiarly necessary at this instant, that all the real friends of England and of America, the true Whigs, should come to a good understanding, and heartily unite to save the nation. God knows if our utmost efforts can succeed; but I am sure that nothing less than such united efforts can have any chance.

Your Lordship's truly great abilities, and your friendly sentiments to the cause of America, give you a just title to stand forward in this business. I shall ever think it an honour to support your Lordship's measures, when my opinions can go along with them; and upon this foundation I shall always be ready and happy to cultivate that union, both in public and in private, which your Lordship mentions, in a manner so flattering to me. I have the honour to be, &c.

RICHMOND, ETC.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Pall Mall, February 1, 1775.⁽¹⁾

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM very sorry to find, by the hand in which your Lordship's letter is written, that gout seems

⁽¹⁾ This day, Lord Chatham presented to the House of Lords his Plan for settling the troubles in America; for a copy of which see Appendix, No. I. In introducing it to the House,

The Earl of *Chatham* said, that "He offered it as a *basis* for averting the dangers which now threatened the British empire; and hoped, that it would meet with the approbation of every side of the House. He proceeded to state the urgent necessity of such a plan: as, perhaps, the delay of a few hours might for ever defeat the possibility of any such conciliatory intervention. He represented Great Britain and America as drawn up in martial array, waiting for the signal to engage in a contest, in which it was little matter for whom victory declared, as ruin and destruction must be the inevitable consequence to both parties. He wished, he said, from a principle of duty and affection, to act the part of a mediator. He said, however, that no regard for popularity, no pre-

already to have made formidable approaches. I lament too, that, informed as I yet am, I cannot

dilection for his country, not the high esteem he entertained for America on the one hand, nor the unalterable steady regard he entertained for the dignity of Great Britain on the other, should at all influence his conduct ; for though he loved the Americans, as men prizing and setting the just value on that inestimable blessing, liberty ; yet, if he could once bring himself to be persuaded, that they entertained the most distant intentions of throwing off the legislative supremacy and great constitutional superintending power and control of the British legislature, he should be the very person himself who would be the first and most zealous mover for securing and enforcing that power by every possible exertion this country was capable of making. He recurred to his former arguments, on the great constitutional question of taxation and representation ; insisted they were inseparable, and planted so deeply in the vital principles of the constitution, as never to be torn up, without destroying and pulling asunder every band of legal government and good faith, which formed the cement that united its several constituent parts together. He entreated the assistance of the House to digest the crude materials which he presumed to lay before it, and to reduce his bill to that form which was suited to the dignity and the importance of the subject, and to the great ends to which it was ultimately directed. He called on them to exercise their candour on the present occasion, and deprecated the effects of party or prejudice ; of factious spleen, or blind predilection. He avowed himself to be actuated by no narrow principle, or personal consideration whatever ; for though the present bill might be looked upon as a bill of concession, it was impossible but to confess at the same time that it was a bill of assertion."

The Earl of Sandwich moved the rejection of the bill ; in which he was supported by Lord Gower and Lord Hillsborough. The Duke of Grafton stigmatized the manner in which it was hurried into the House as unparliamentary. He had had, he said, the honour of sitting in that House longer than the noble earl, and he remembered no similar instance of precipitation.

The Earl of *Chatham* replied to the several objections which had been urged to his plan. He descanted, with equal humour and severity, upon the very extraordinary topic employed by the noble Duke, his *quondam* colleague in office, and very humble servant. The noble Duke, said his Lordship, is extremely angry with me, that I did not previously consult him on the bringing in the present bill : I would ask the noble Duke, does he consult me ? or do I desire to be previously told of any motions or measures he thinks fit to propose to this House ? His Grace seems to be much offended at the manner this bill has been

see the propriety, at this moment, of the step you have determined to take ; though I am always de-

hurried. I am certain he could not be serious, if he gave himself a minute to consider how the case really stands. Here we are told, that America is in a state of actual rebellion, and we are now got to the 1st February, and no one step is taken to crush this supposed rebellion : yet, such being the case, I am charged with hurrying matters ; but whether my conduct may be more justly charged with hurrying this business into, or his Grace with hurrying it out of, the House, I believe requires no great depth of penetration to discover. As to the other general objections, I presume it will be recollected, that the last day I submitted the proposition about withdrawing the troops, I then gave notice that I would present, in a few days, a plan of general reconciliation. Eleven days have since elapsed, and nothing has been offered by the King's servants. Under such circumstances of emergency on one side, when, perhaps, a single day may determine the fate of this great empire, and such a shameful negligence, total inattention, and want of ability on the other, what was to be done ? No other alternative, in my opinion, remained, but either to abandon the interests of my country, and relinquish my duty, or to propose some plan, when ministry, by their inaction and silence, owned themselves incapable of proposing any. But even now let them speak out, and tell me, that they have a plan to lay before us, and I will give them an example of candour they are by no means deserving of, by instantly withdrawing the present bill. The indecent attempt to stifle this measure in embryo may promise consequences the very reverse of what I am certain will be the case. The friends of the present motion may flatter themselves that the contents of the bill will sink into silence and be forgotten, but I believe they will find the contrary. This bill, though rejected here, will make its way to the public, to the nation, to the remotest wilds of America ; it will, in such a course, undergo a deal of cool observation and investigation ; and whatever its merits or demerits may be, it will rise or fall by them alone ; it will, I trust, remain a monument of my poor endeavours to serve my country ; and however faulty or defective, will at least manifest how zealous I have been to avert the impending storms which seem ready to burst on it, and for ever overwhelm it in ruin. Yet, when I consider the whole case as it lies before me, I am not much astonished, I am not surprised, that men who hate liberty, should detest those who prize it ; or that those who want virtue themselves, should endeavour to persecute those who possess it. Were I disposed to pursue this theme to the extent that truth would fully bear me out in, I could demonstrate, that the whole of your political conduct has been one continued series of weakness, temerity, despotism, ignorance, futility, negligence, and the most notorious servility, ineapacity, and corruption. On reconsideration, I must allow you one merit, a strict attention to your own

sirous of considering what you determine, as founded in the most consummate wisdom and policy. That

interests : in that view you appear sound statesmen and able politicians. You well know, if the present measure should prevail, that you must instantly relinquish your places. I doubt much whether you will be able to keep them on any terms ; but sure I am, such are your well-known characters and abilities, that any plan of reconciliation, however moderate, wise, and feasible, must fail in your hands. Such, then, being your precarious situations, who should wonder that you can put a negative on any measure which must annihilate your power, deprive you of your emoluments, and at once reduce you to that state of insignificance, for which God and nature designed you ? ”

The bill was rejected by sixty-one against thirty-two. The following is Dr. Franklin’s account of what passed : —

“ Lord Chatham, in a most excellent speech, introduced, explained, and supported his plan. When he sat down, Lord Dartmouth said, it contained matter of such weight and magnitude as to require much consideration, and he therefore hoped the noble Earl did not expect their Lordships to decide upon it by an immediate vote, but would be willing it should be upon the table for consideration. Lord Chatham answered readily that he expected nothing more. But Lord Sandwich rose, and in a petulant vehement speech opposed its being received at all, and gave his opinion that it ought to be immediately rejected, with the contempt it deserved. That he could never believe it to be the production of any British peer. That it appeared to him rather the work of some American ; and turning his face towards me, who was leaning on the bar, said he fancied he had in his eye the person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country had ever known. This drew the eyes of many lords upon me ; but as I had no inducement to take it to myself, I kept my countenance as immovable as if my features had been made of wood. Then several other lords of the administration gave their sentiments also for rejecting it, of which opinion also was strongly the wise Lord Hillsborough. But the Dukes of Richmond and Manchester, Lord Shelburne, Lord Camden, Lord Temple, Lord Lyttelton, and others, were for receiving it, some through approbation, and others for the character and dignity of the House.

“ Lord Chatham, in his reply to Lord Sandwich, took notice of his illiberal insinuation, that the plan was not the person’s who proposed it ; declared that it was entirely his own, a declaration he thought himself the more obliged to make, as many of their lordships appeared to have so mean an opinion of it ; for if it was so weak or so bad a thing, it was proper in him to take care that no other person should unjustly share in the censure it deserved. That it had been heretofore reckoned his

we differ, in one great fundamental, is most unhappily but too certain ; and from that, perhaps, many other differences in American matters must necessarily and very unhappily flow. I wish to pay the regard due to every proposition, especially of infinite importance, which falls from you, and in that light and in discharge of my own honour, I am inclined to attend ; but when I reflect on the expressions which I must probably be compelled to hear, my present opinion with regard to timing the motion, &c., I fear I shall be necessitated to differ with the only person with whom I ardently wish to agree, and from whom alone I think *possibly* conciliation might have been derived to both countries. In all events, your Lordship will feel, as I do, that interests of this magnitude are of too much importance for any honest man to reconcile to his conscience the sacrifice of his opinion : if to any one, it would be to you, by, my dear Lord,

Your most affectionate brother,

TEMPLE.⁽¹⁾

vice not to be apt to take advice ; but he made no scruple to declare, that if he were the first minister of this country, and had the care of settling this momentous business, he should not be ashamed of publicly calling to his assistance a person, so perfectly acquainted with the whole of American affairs as the gentleman alluded to, and so injuriously reflected on ; one, he was pleased to say, whom all Europe held in high estimation, for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranked with our Boyles and Newtons ; who was an honour, not to the English nation only, but to human nature ! I found it harder to stand this extravagant compliment than the preceding equally extravagant abuse ; but kept as well as I could, an unconcerned countenance, as not conceiving it to relate to me.”— *Memoirs*, p. 257.

(1) On the 10th of February, the corporation of the city of London came to the following resolution : — “ That the thanks

EARL STANHOPE TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Queen Anne Street, Wednesday morning,
February 8, 1775.

YOU may imagine, dear Madam, what a disappointment poor Lord Chatham's unseasonable gout has been to all his friends, both in this house and in the House of Lords, where he was very greatly missed. The debate, which lasted till about two o'clock in the morning, lost the greatest part of its animating spirit by his unfortunate absence. Lord Rockingham rose to present the petitions of the American and West India merchants, and the Chancellor called upon him to speak; but Lord Dartmouth presently afterwards rose to move for the concurrence of the Lords to the address sent up, with a blank left in it, by the House of Commons; and the partiality of administration was so great,

of this Court be given to the Right Hon. the Earl of Chatham for having offered to the House of Lords a Plan for conciliating the differences which unfortunately subsist between the administration in this country and its American colonies; and to all those who supported that noble Lord in so humane a measure." The town-clerk having waited on Lord Chatham therewith, his Lordship returned this answer:—"Lord Chatham desires the favour of Mr. Town Clerk to offer my Lord Mayor, the Aldermen and Commons, in Common Council assembled, his most respectful and grateful acknowledgments for the signal honour they have been pleased to confer on the mere discharge of his duty, in a moment of impending calamity. Under deep impressions of former marks of favourable construction of his conduct, during the evil hour of a dangerous foreign war, he now deems himself too fortunate to find his efforts for preventing the ruin and horrors of a civil war approved, honoured, and strengthened by the first corporate body in the kingdom."

that Lord Dartmouth was called upon by a great many lords to speak first ; which monstrous irregularity occasioned the previous question, whether the question moved by Lord Dartmouth should be then put or not. After several hours' debate, in which the speakers were Lord Coventry, Lord Pomfret, Duke of Richmond, Lord Gower, Lord Denbigh, Lord Camden, Lord Mansfield, Duke of Grafton, Lord Sandwich, Lord Shelburne, Lord Lyttelton, Duke of Manchester, Lord Townshend, Lord Pomfret ; some of whom spoke more than once. The Court carried the question, the numbers being a hundred and four, including fourteen proxies, to twenty-nine.

There was afterwards another division, where the numbers were nearly the same, on the main question of inserting the words “ the Lords spiritual and temporal and,” to fill up the address voted by the other House. I am just going out ; so that I can only add my best wishes for dear Lord Chatham's speedy recovery, and conclude with little ceremony, but very great affection,

Your Ladyship's most faithful servant,

STANHOPE.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Thursday, one o'clock p.m.
February 9, 1775.

MY LORD,

I SHALL be very glad to hear that the attack of the gout, which so unfortunately has affected your

Lordship at this very important time, may begin to abate, and may afford hopes that your Lordship's presence and assistance may not long be withdrawn. The ministers, as your Lordship will have been informed, would not suffer the petitions of the American merchants, &c., and of the West India planters and merchants, to be received, till after they had carried the address. By the desire of the merchants, I nevertheless presented the petitions afterwards, and they are allowed to lie on the table; by which it will appear on record, that the merchants concerned in the American trade petitioned to be heard before any measure was taken, and that the West India planters and merchants desired to be heard immediately, and that they were refused. I have the honour to be, with great truth and regard, my Lord, your Lordship's

Most obedient humble servant,

ROCKINGHAM.

LORD CAMDEN TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Camden Place, February 12, 1775.

MY DEAR LORD,

As I am here for two or three hours, I am eager to catch the occasion of knowing with certainty the state of your Lordship's health, which is so important to the public as well as to your friends. It is true that we made shift, without your Lordship's assistance, to drag on the debate last Tuesday till two o'clock in the morning; but, in my opinion,

six hours with your Lordship is more efficacious than a hundred without you.

The ministry are proceeding with the most mischievous expedition, to plunge the nation irrecoverably into a civil war, which, indeed, I consider as commenced by the joint address; and the bill to cut off the four New England colonies from the fishery is to be brought on to-day. I am grieved to observe, that the landed interest is almost altogether anti-American, though the common people hold the war in abhorrence, and the merchants and tradesmen, for obvious reasons, are likewise against it. Nevertheless, my opinion of the justice and the success of it is precisely the same, and does not yield to the majority within doors, or the powerful assent without.

I think it necessary to communicate to your Lordship, that I have received from Mr. Maseres⁽¹⁾ a petition from the Protestant settlers at Quebec, to repeal or amend that bill, and he has entrusted it to the management of the minority; without which liberty I did flatly refuse to receive it. He does not desire to bring it on yet this fortnight or three weeks; which gives full time to consider how it shall be introduced, and your Lordship's opinion will, I dare say, be attended to with the utmost respect by every body; for I

(1) Francis Maseres, Esq. In 1766, he was appointed attorney-general of Quebec; from which situation he was, in 1773, raised to the dignity of cursitor baron of the exchequer. He died, at the age of ninety-three, in 1824.

am sure your Lordship's concurrence is of more worth to the cause than any other consideration.

I am, &c.

CAMDEN.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO VISCOUNT MAHON. ⁽¹⁾

[From the original in the possession of Earl Stanhope.]

Hayes, February 20, 1775.

MY DEAR LORD,

ACCEPT a thousand kindest thanks for your most welcome epistle. The motion of this day in the House of Commons ⁽²⁾ had reached me this

⁽¹⁾ Charles Viscount Mahon succeeded his father as third Earl Stanhope, in March, 1786. He was born on the 3d of August, 1753; and married on the 19th of December, 1774, Lady Hester Pitt, eldest daughter of the Earl of Chatham, who died in 1780, leaving three daughters. His Lordship married, secondly, Louisa, only daughter of Henry Grenville, Esq., Governor of Barbadoes, and first cousin of his former wife; by whom he had three sons. He died in December, 1816, and was succeeded by the present earl.

⁽²⁾ In a committee of the whole House, on the Papers relating to the disturbances in North America, Lord North had this day moved, "That it is the opinion of this Committee, that when the governor, council, and assembly, or general court, of any of his Majesty's provinces or colonies in America, shall propose to make provision, according to the condition, circumstances, and situation of such province or colony, for contributing their proportion to the common defence; and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice, in such province or colony, it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duty, tax, or

morning ; circulars to members having gone out last night, in order to a full attendance. I cannot collect with sufficient accuracy Lord North's plan, or rather the outlines of his plan. What has transpired is so vague, that it amounts to nothing, in practice or execution. It is a mere verbiage, a most puerile mockery, that will be spurned in America, as well as laughed at here by the friends of America and by the unrelenting enemies of that noble country. Every thing but justice and reason will, I am persuaded, prove vain to men like the Americans, with principles of right in their minds and hearts, and with arms in their hands to assert those principles. So far, however, seems to promise future good ; some parts of ministry begin to relent, and the *butchers* in government will soon be taught a lesson of fear, if not of humanity.

I will come to town to-morrow, if I am able. Good night, my dear Lord. Your ever, &c.

CHATHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Tuesday, after dinner. [February 21, 1775.]

I HAVE learned but little, my dear love. Lord North was, in the beginning of the day, like a man

assessment, &c., except only such duties as it may be expedient to levy for the regulation of commerce ; the net produce of the duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such province or colony respectively."

exploded, and the judgment of the House, during about two hours, was that his Lordship was going to be in a considerable minority; Mr. Ellis and others, young Acland in particular, having declared highly and roughly against his desertion of the cause of cruelty. Sir Gilbert Elliot arose, and spake "very brafe and wise worts" in the "imminent and deadly breach," and turned the fortune of the day. The warlike Rigby only took notes, and put them *generously* in his pocket -- minority under ninety.⁽¹⁾ I have seen Lord Temple; much satisfied with his Lordship. The visit of yesterday more extraordinary, as Lord Temple's pulse had been felt by his Grace⁽²⁾, and no encouragement given to expect another answer, than that his errand received. Lord Temple appears very really to approve the answer given. Lord North is thought to have made a wretched figure in the House. I write amidst bottles and glasses — so *my service* to you! Your ever loving

CHATHAM.

(¹) Lord North's resolution was carried by 274 to 88. Gibbon, who was present, gives, in a letter to Mr. Holroyd, the following account of this debate: — "We go on with regard to America, if we can be said to go on; for on Monday a conciliatory motion of allowing the colonies to tax themselves was introduced by Lord North, in the midst of lives and fortune, war and famine. We went into the House in confusion, every moment expecting that the Bedfords would fly into rebellion against those measures. Lord North rose six times to appease them, but all in vain; till at length Sir Gilbert declared for administration, and the troops all rallied under their proper standard."

(²) Probably the Duke of Northumberland.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE MARQUIS OF
GRANBY. (¹)

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

April 7, 1775.

LORD CHATHAM, though too weak to use his pen, cannot but indulge his thought (which he does with the highest satisfaction) on the event of Wednesday; of which his friend Dr. Addington had the goodness to send him a particular account.

The universal applause with which the Marquis of Granby entered that day on the parliamentary scene, is an event of the most public nature; at the same time, his Lordship's declaration, so favourable to a former minister, and in support of a rejected plan for preventing a civil war in America, are circumstances too affecting for an old man to be silent, and not to trouble his Lordship with the most respectful and warm acknowledgments for so great an honour. (²) Nothing but want of health at pre-

(¹) At this time, member for the university of Cambridge. In 1779, he succeeded his father, as fourth Duke of Rutland; and in 1782, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; in which office he died in 1787, in his thirty-fourth year. His Grace was, through the recommendation of Mr. Burke, the patron of Crabbe, who thus introduces his name into *The Library*: —

“Some breast that glows with virtues all divine,
Some noble RUTLAND, misery's friend and mine.”

“The world,” said Bishop Watson, in the House of Lords, “was not aware of half his ability — was not conscious of half his worth: his judgment, in the conduct of public affairs, was, I verily believe, equalled by few men of his age; his probity and disinterestedness were exceeded by none.”

(²) In the debate, on the 5th, upon the bill to restrain the

sent could prevent him from waiting on the Marquis of Granby, and having the honour to be himself the bearer of thanks most unfeigned.

THE MARQUIS OF GRANBY TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Knightsbridge, Thursday evening, April 7, 1775.

MADAM,

I CANNOT sufficiently express the great pleasure I have received, and my real feelings, upon the very kind, the very eminent mark of friendship, with which Lord Chatham has honoured me. The very strong connection which my political sentiments have led me to form with him must make me feel too deeply the testimony of an approbation, which so great a man has so publicly given me.

I hope your Ladyship's apprehensions upon Lord Chatham's health will, in the end, prove groundless, and that a genuine gout will administer its salutary effects, and restore him to an anxious country; which, I am convinced, is the only means to avert the dangers, which are now suspended over the laws and liberties of Great Britain. I am, with the greatest truth, and the most sincere regard, &c.

GRANBY.

trade of the southern colonies of America, the Marquis had passed a high eulogium on Lord Chatham, and expressed his determination "to pursue those principles which had raised his name to the elevation on which it was placed, and had procured for him the love and admiration of his countrymen."

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO GENERAL CARLETON.

[—, 1775.]

SIR,

YOUR great goodness to my son, in which the friendship you honour the father with is manifested by such kind and interesting effects, would long since have commanded the expression of my sincerest thanks, had not a long fever forbidden my writing. Allow me now, dear Sir, to address myself (which I do with singular satisfaction) to offering you the warmest returns of acknowledgments, from a paternal heart full of solicitude for a very endeared son. I trust that he exerts his constant endeavours to recommend himself to the continuance of your favour and protection, and that he will not prove an unprofitable scholar, in the best of schools.

I will not say a word on the unhappy state of America, as the provisional plan I offered to the House of Lords will probably have reached you; and that contains my whole system for America — which is, to secure to the colonies property and liberty, and to insure to the mother-country a due acknowledgment, on the part of the colonies, of their subordination to the supreme legislative authority, and superintending power of the parliament of Great Britain. I beg to say so much, in order to stand clear in your opinion of any imputation of countenancing a wild independency in the colonies.

I am, with perfect esteem, Sir, &c.

CHATHAM.

MAJOR CALDWELL ⁽¹⁾ TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Quebec, June 2, 1775.

MY LORD,

As I can easily form to myself an idea of your Lordship's and Lady Chatham's anxiety about such a son as Lord Pitt, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of taking the opportunity of a ship now sailing for England, to make your Lordship happy, by assuring you of Lord Pitt's being perfectly well; which he has not himself an opportunity of acquainting you with, as he is just now with General Carleton at Montreal; for which place he set out about ten days ago with the garrison of this place, on an account being sent here that the people of New Hampshire and Connecticut, under the orders of one Arnold, (last year a horse dealer, this a colonel, with a commission from the provincial congress,) had surprised Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and taken the garrisons, consisting of a captain, two lieutenants, and about seventy privates prisoners, and that they had also proceeded to St.

(1) See Vol. I. p. 381. Major Henry Caldwell was the fourth son of Sir John Caldwell, Baronet, of Castle Caldwell, county of Fermanagh, Ireland, and of Lady Caldwell, who was the eldest daughter of Dr. French, Dean of Raphoe. He was made assistant-quarter-master-general at the request of General Wolfe, for his bravery at the siege of Louisbourg, and served in that capacity at the taking of Quebec. He lived in the General's family until his death; who expressed his esteem and regard for him, by leaving him a legacy in his will. The major was at this time settled on a large estate in Canada.

John's, where they surprised also a serjeant and twelve men, and an armed sloop of the King's that commanded the navigation of Lake Champlain, and that they had from thence made incursions within a few miles of Montreal. A detachment of the 26th regiment soon obliged these unhappy, deluded people to retire from St. John's and the near end of Lake Champlain ; but Arnold, who has executed his orders with diligence, activity, and spirit, has posted himself, it is said, with about fifteen hundred men at Ticonderoga, where he has got an engineer to fortify his post. General Carleton has, I hear, taken post at St. John's and Chambly ; where, by his dispositions, he seems to mean only to act on the defensive, contrary to what I should have supposed, as I should think the Canadians might by this time have been armed, and Ticonderoga retaken with as much rapidity as Arnold executed the orders of the Congress. I pity those poor deluded people for the cause in which they are embarked, and with great reluctance should draw my sword against them ; but coming to disturb our tranquillity, I confess it is a little provoking, and they should have been made to retire faster than when they approached us. The Canadians used to obey the King's orders, and I think would not refuse to march. Peremptory orders and flattering expressions, and you may do what you please with them, as they have high ideas and great respect for the King's authority ; but no other influence will weigh with them but necessity, to draw them from their farms, where they enjoy

the comforts of ease and affluence. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, &c.

HENRY CALDWELL.⁽¹⁾

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO MAJOR CALDWELL.

Hayes, July, 1775.

I HOPE, Sir, I shall receive your pardon for having, under the circumstance of my Lord's illness, ventured to open your letter; which the postmark of Quebec rendered so interesting to my peace and happiness. Allow me to desire you to accept of the most grateful acknowledgments, in return for your truly obliging and kind attention to the ease and satisfaction of my Lord and myself. You will readily believe, Sir, was Lord Chatham in health, that it would not be by my hand that our joint thanks, together with our sense of your goodness, would be conveyed. Lord Chatham would have reserved that agreeable office to himself: but, to the inexpressible misfortune of his family and friends, as well as to his country in general, his

⁽¹⁾ It appears by a letter from Major Caldwell, which Colonel Barré read in the House of Commons in October, that "the Canadians had determined to make use of their firelocks against the English, if they were driven into the war, and that General Carleton and Lord Pitt were within a quarter of an hour of falling into the hands of one Jeremiah Duggan, formerly a barber, but then a major in the provincials."

continued illness has reduced him to a state of such extreme weakness and lowness, that he is unable to exert himself enough for any business, or to enter upon subjects that are tenderly interesting to his mind. You will not wonder, therefore, Sir, that I have not ventured to communicate your letter to him. His son, and America, would be too much for him.

In this cruel situation, my anxiety for Pitt is infinite. You are no stranger, I dare say, Sir, to the opinions which my Lord has publicly professed, with regard to the fatal disputes that so unhappily prevail between this country and America. His hope and persuasion, that infatuation at home could not extend (whatever it threatened) to the involving the two countries in an unnatural war, induced him to do nothing then about his son, and before matters came to extremity he fell ill.

As soon as it was made clear that the quarrel was to be decided by arms, I wrote to my son, apprizing him of his father's oppressive illness, and at the same time giving him a *free power* to decide upon his own situation ; since he could not have the unspeakable advantage of his father's directions for the government of his conduct. I should be miserable to have his sword drawn against the convictions of his mind, and I should not be less so, to have him do any thing contrary to his military honour. I wished him to weigh the matter well ; and should his conscience dictate to him to resign his profession, not to take any step without having first ma-

turely considered the nature and delicacy of it. Should he find no opinions in his mind to make it distressing to him to continue in a profession which he loves and admires, I advised him not to think of making that sacrifice. As the war has come on much faster than could have been imagined, and the distance of Canada from the first scene of the troubles has not saved it from being involved, I am extremely distressed and unhappy, fearing lest my letters which were intended to be *provisional* might find my son embarked, and tend to perplex him. I recur for comfort to the hope, that he will not have engaged in any step without having asked the honour of your opinion; and in that case, I have the satisfaction of being sure he will have been fully guarded against every thing that could in the least affect his military honour. I should have troubled General Carleton with a letter upon the subject; but there was a delicacy in it, from his particular situation, which prevented me. I must own myself not sorry that the General was acting only upon the defensive; as I cannot help feeling a pity for poor people who are irritated to the utmost, from an opinion of being greatly injured: otherwise I assure you, Sir, though full of maternal tenderness to my son, I should have been happy in his having had occasion of proving the ardour of that courage which I flatter myself is in him.

What apology can I make for the trouble I have ventured upon giving you? I am afraid I have none to offer; unless you will allow the knowledge

I have of the honour and respect my Lord has for your distinguished merits to be one. In the trust that you will have that goodness, I will detain you no longer, Sir, than just to add, that we preserve still hopes that my Lord may yet have, when the season of gout advances, a salutary fit that may perfectly restore his health and strength.

I am, with all esteem, &c.

HESTER CHATHAM.

GENERAL CARLETON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Montreal, September 21, 1775.

MY LORD,

As I find it necessary to send home a report of the situation of affairs in this province by a person well informed, and able to answer any questions concerning our present or late transactions, I have troubled Lord Pitt with this disagreeable commission. He has been a spectator, and is well qualified to describe matters more minutely than can be done, within the compass of a letter. I would it had been in my power to send him with more agreeable news for the public—more pleasing for a parent I could not send, than a plain narrative of his merit, and that modest manliness by which he is distinguished from all of his age. It will give me no small satisfaction to have the pleasure

of seeing him again, with an opportunity of availing myself of his assistance, on any service. I have the honour to be, with great respect and esteem, &c.

GUY CARLETON.

ANONYMOUS TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

November 14, 1775.

MY LORD,

MY only motive for interrupting your Lordship's retirement is a real anxiety for the public good ; and though I have not the honour of being known to your Lordship, yet when I assure you that I am equally below connection with any party, and above dependence upon any, I persuade myself you will not refuse to indulge the request of a man, who has nothing to ask, except a few moments' attention, whilst he expresses a wish, perhaps an idle one, on a subject which at least will not divert your thoughts from their present object.

That subject, the American dispute, is now arrived at a crisis, which makes all men tremble, many despond. A vast majority of the inhabitants of both countries, I verily believe, are so deeply affected with the fatal prospect now before them, that they passionately long for reconciliation, and would think it cheaply purchased at the expense of large concessions. How to accomplish the wishes of those majorities is the perplexing difficulty. My Lord, the misfortune is, that parties

and factions prevail on both sides of the Atlantic. Reconciliation, though an object with all but the very worst men, is but a secondary object to any party. The prevailing one in either country will not accede to terms that either disgrace or dispossess them : the opposition in either country will obstruct all terms which do not insure victory to them. Punctilios too, party impediments removed, prevent treaty.

My Lord, when private friends disagree, the same obstacles are apt to occur ; the same, too, in the dissensions of foreign powers. In both these cases, how is it that difficulties of every sort are constantly overcome, but by the intervention of a common friend ? Suppose, for an instant, that, in the present case, such a character could be found to exist : arduous as his task must be admitted to be, it seems to me far from being impracticable. The governing parties in both countries would not reject terms which neither endangered their emoluments nor infringed upon their honour ; and any terms which the governing parties in the two countries would not reject, the power of faction would struggle in vain to obstruct. But prudence forbids the proposal of rejectionable terms ; therefore the true sentiments of the prevailing parties in both countries, if unknown, ought previously to be discovered by the common friend. Those sentiments are to be learnt as well from one man of each party properly chosen as from many ; for your Lordship knows better than I do, that the

many govern not themselves ; no, not even their opinions.

Now, I will not think so meanly of the prevailing party either here or in America, as to imagine that there is wanting one man of each description, who would trust a common friend, and might safely be trusted by such an one, in a free communication upon the subject of the admissibility of terms, under the sanction of inviolable secrecy. That common friend, once possessed of this knowledge, could stand in need of nothing but a head to plan and a heart to undertake : secrecy still being an indispensable requisite till the instant of execution, to secure the minds of the people from being poisoned with jealousies and suspicions of treachery in the mediator.

The last difficulty that occurs is, in what region to discover this common friend. Alas ! my Lord, Great Britain and America know no foreign power that can assume the name. Some centuries are past since superstition might, perhaps, have sought the mimic of such a character in the see of Rome. At present, as far as I can judge, there is in the universe one only individual qualified to undertake this important office. My Lord, I mean not to flatter you ; I disdain the art ; — but, in my sincere opinion, that individual is your Lordship. The dignity and splendour which surround your name raise you above the level of other men. Neither of the nations has forgotten the great debt they both owe you. Both acknowledge, that, of all men

living, you are he who is most deeply interested to preserve the united honour and happiness of the whole empire. Fortunate it is, that your long retirement renders you, in appearance as well as reality, unconnected with the men and the measures, the administrations and the oppositions of either nation, as much as if you were this instant descended from the clouds. This constitutes you, as it were, an independent power, and doubles the confidence which all reposed in you before. Be, then, my Lord, the guardian angel of this great empire; decline not the honourable office of mediator between Great Britain and America; unite the two countries upon a basis of permanent friendship, without regard to the internal factions of either; leaving administrations and oppositions undisturbed, to fight, as they have fought before, their little battles upon ground less perilous to this great community.

Were I addressing a man who could be moved by love of office or desire of wealth, I am aware that the hazard of failure might deter him from the enterprize, more forcibly than the prospect of success could urge him to it, gilded as that prospect must appear to any one, who reflects upon the copious streams of bounty which must necessarily flow from the gratitude of two nations. I neither hope nor apprehend any thing from the effect of such considerations on your mind. The world, as well as I, believe you destitute of the passion of fear, as well as the appetite of gain; but, unless

all men are deceived, there is one noble passion, against which your bosom is by no means proof. This is the moment, and God only knows how short it is, that solicits gratification. Lose not the luckiest opportunity that ever befell the most fortunate lover of true glory. The worst that can follow disappointment is that inward satisfaction, which surpasses every thing extrinsic, attended by the silent blessings of millions.

The consequence of success I will not attempt to describe—for it will prevent calamities, the limits of which no imagination can trace;—it will insure blessings, which none can estimate;—and the happy instrument to accomplish this, will be a private individual, naked of every weapon, whether of war, corruption, or superstition—a character not the less glorious, because it is absolutely unparalleled in the history of the world.

My Lord, it is with shame I beg your indulgence a minute longer: but I think it proper to inform you, that this letter and the subject of it is known to one man alone besides myself, and he is bound to secrecy by the same ties that I am. To satisfy you that I have no end to answer beneficial to myself, I not only refrain from subscribing my name, but, whether you treat this letter with consideration or whether you treat it with contempt, I promise you, upon the word of a gentleman, that I will never divulge my name to you, or the contents of this to any other person, without your request. To convince you, at the same time,

that I mean nothing prejudicial to any man, I promise you, under the same sanction, that I will disclose myself to your Lordship, if ever you should think fit to require it, by a letter directed to A. Z., at Oliver's Coffee House, Westminster-hall gate. If your eye reaches this place, I return your Lordship a thousand thanks for your patience, and am, with the truest respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most faithful servant.⁽¹⁾

(¹) By the following note, of the 17th, in the same handwriting, it will be seen, that Lord Chatham returned an answer to the above remarkable letter :—

“ November 17, 1775.

“ The author of the letter of the 14th was far from intending to trouble again the writer of the note of the 16th, even with the acknowledgments that were due, for the very high though unmerited honour done to him by that note ; but as the mistake of a letter in the direction of it (Q instead of Z) may possibly be recollected, and create a suspicion of its having fallen into wrong hands, he presumes that he will be pardoned the liberty of giving this assurance, that it was received by the person for whom it was intended, and that the injunction of secrecy will be religiously observed. It neither has nor shall be imparted, even to the single friend who was privy to the letter, as the injunction is understood to that extent. The writer of this cannot help adding, that the reception of his sincere endeavours as they were meant, would indeed have made him truly happy, had the account of it not been embittered with more just cause of sorrow. However, he, too, indulges the most sanguine hopes, that the invaluable blessing, which is for the present withheld, will quickly be restored to this country and its friends.”

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO GENERAL
CARLETON.

February 14, 1776.

SIR,

THE weakness of my Lord's health will not admit of his expressing at large the sense he has of the extent of your goodness to his son. It has made an impression on him which will always remain in his mind, attended with the sincerest gratitude. The advantages Pitt has received, from the time he has been honoured with the eye and protection of General Carleton, have been such as my Lord had persuaded himself, from every reason, he must receive.

Feeling all this, Sir, as Lord Chatham does, you will tell yourself with what concern he communicates to you a step that, from his fixed opinion with regard to the continuance of the unhappy war with our fellow-subjects of America, he has found it necessary to take. It is that of withdrawing his son from such a service. He honours the service; and, under the military auspices of General Carleton, he had flattered himself that his son might one day have arrived at some degree of merit in the profession. Though, from particular circumstances, he must cease to have the honour of attending you as aide-de-camp, my Lord will nevertheless hope for the continuance of your favourable opinion and protection to him, and trusts that you will accept his sincere wishes for your re-

turn to England, and for the happiness of yourself and your whole family;—in which allow me to join.

I am, Sir, with every regard, &c.

HESTER CHATHAM.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JAMES GRENVILLE
TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

February 19, 1776.

THE opinions, my dear Sister, which, from the beginning of the present troubles, I have professed to hold, and which, as I believe, I shall continue to hold to the latest hour of my life, are such as can leave no doubt what my sentiments must be concerning the motives that have inclined Lord Chatham and Lord Pitt to concur in making the resignation you mention. It is a measure of considerable importance; and I am persuaded the weight of it has not been diminished for want of propriety in the manner of making it. I consider it as a farther confirmation of those principles which have hitherto unhappily failed in their operation to prevent the injustice of those wretched doings (for I will not call them councils), that have bent the neck of this kingdom and its colonies to the very earth. As it is a deliberate act, it appears to me consistent with the wisdom, and as a just one, with the real eminence and dignity, of one of the parties concerned, and with the amiable disposition of the

other. It is a sacrifice to principle in both. I regret the necessity of it, because I think there are qualities in Lord Pitt, that would have done him honour in his profession. The honour he now does himself must compensate to him the loss (if lost) of those other advantages. I hope the event will prove fortunate to him. A good cause has, in more instances than one, made the unfortunate fortunate, the weak strong; whilst a bad one, as we but too well see at this moment, has made the strong weak.

For myself, I have long pursued the path of private life, and have adhered to that plan. I chose it under circumstances many years past, from knowing myself of too little capacity or consequence to do good, and from having an invincible dislike to concur in doing harm. In this situation, I take no part in the determinations of those who are even the nearest to me; for I have as much aversion to overrule by authority, if I could, dissenting opinions, as I should have to check concurring ones. I claim the right of private judgment for forming my own opinions; but I leave the same rights inviolable to those who are to act; knowing the integrity of their views, and the honest conviction of their minds. I rejoice to hear of the good beginning made by Lord Chatham towards a recovery of his health, and I desire you to assure him of my best wishes and respects.

I am, my dear sister,

Your most affectionate brother,

JAMES GRENVILLE.

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO DR. ADDINGTON.

Sunday noon, November 17, 1776.

I FLATTER myself that I may say, my dear Sir, that my Lord has been rather mending since your last very kind visit. As there is enough of favourable in this account to afford some degree of satisfaction to you, I should, at all events, have troubled you this morning with a few lines : but my Lord has a further reason for desiring me to write; which is, a wish to have transmitted to you, without farther delay, the enclosed paper, being a Memorandum of that Declaration concerning America, which, from his confidence in your experienced friendship, he reposed, last July, in your breast ; and which, in this paper, is expressed with due precision, and in the exact terms.

The times are so critical, that he is anxious to have his opinions accurately stated, and should be infinitely obliged, if, as often as you shall think proper to communicate the sentiments and opinions contained in this Memorandum, attention is had, that they may go *in the very words* in which they are expressed in that paper. You will please, my dear Sir, to understand yourself to be entire master to make such communication wherever you may judge it proper.

I have a very sincere satisfaction in thinking you will derive a pleasure from this circumstance

many ways, and will detain you no longer than to assure you of my being

Ever, &c.

HESTER CHATHAM.⁽¹⁾

[Enclosure.]

MEMORANDUM OF A DECLARATION CONCERNING
AMERICA, MADE BY LORD CHATHAM TO DR. ADD-
DINGTON IN JULY, 1776.

[In the handwriting of Lady Chatham.]

“THAT he continued in the same sentiments, with regard to America, which he had always professed, and which stand so fully explained in the Provisional Act⁽²⁾ offered by him to the House of Lords. Confiding in the friendship of Dr. Addington, he requested of him to preserve this in memory; that in case he should not recover from the long illness under which he laboured, the Doctor might be enabled to do him justice, by bearing testimony, that he persevered *unshaken* in the same opinions. To this he added, that unless

(1) In his answer to this note, Dr. Addington says,—“His Lordship may depend on my representing his opinion, relating to America and France, as often as opportunity offers, in the very words of his own Declaration of July last; and I thank him, from my heart, that he has been so good as to refresh my memory with a written copy of them.”

(2) See Appendix, No. I.

effectual measures were speedily taken for reconciliation with the colonies, he was fully persuaded, that, in a very few years, France will set her foot on English ground. That, in the present moment, her policy may probably be to wait some time, in order to see England more deeply engaged in this ruinous war, *against herself*, in America ; as well as to prove how far the Americans, abetted by France *indirectly* only, may be able to make a stand, before she takes an *open* part, by declaring war upon England."

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO LORD CAMDEN.

November 22, 1776.

UNDERSTANDING that your Lordship is going to Bath, and the continuation of illness still depriving Lord Chatham of the honour and comfort of seeing you, he has desired me to send you the enclosed paper⁽¹⁾; he being solicitous, that your Lordship may be accurately apprized of his sentiments upon the present dangerous situation of the public ; as they perhaps have reached your Lordship not exactly. He trusts your Lordship's friendship will more than pardon this liberty. All the warmest wishes for every good effect from the waters of Bath attend your Lordship.

(1) A copy of the preceding Declaration.

LORD CAMDEN TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Camden Place, November 22, 1776.

MADAM,

I AM much honoured, by your Ladyship's communication of Lord Chatham's sentiments upon a subject to which I have dedicated all my public thoughts and actions, for four or five years past. I had in part been informed of his Lordship's Declaration; but as all things suffer more or less from the verbal conveyance of hearsay, this opinion of his Lordships, as it was repeated, lost much of its clearness as well as vigour. I have the happiness, however, of enjoying a fulness of self-satisfaction, by this obliging communication from his Lordship, in reflecting, that my conduct has precisely corresponded with his Lordship's opinion, which has been always to me oracular, while I had an opportunity of consulting it; and I beg his Lordship will consider me as much attached to him, as I was when he advanced me to the highest office in this kingdom.

I need not add, how ardently I wish for the perfect restoration of his Lordship's health, and the continuance of that friendship he has always honoured me with, in private as well as in public. I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect and devotion,

Your Ladyship's most obedient

faithful servant,

CAMDEN.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM. (1)

November 23, 1776.

MAY Lord Shelburne request Lady Chatham to do him the honour and the kindness to represent

(1) This letter is in reply to a note, enclosing a copy of Lord Chatham's Declaration to Dr. Addington. The progress of Lord Chatham's severe illness, which commenced shortly after his exertions in parliament, on the subject of America, in the early part of 1775, will best appear by the following passages in his son William's letters from Cambridge to Lady Chatham: — May 22, 1775. "The intermittent, obstinate as it is, has already continued so long, as to give me a reasonable hope that its period is approaching." — July 19. "On the subject of my father's complaint, I can only say, that either the public or the private grief it gives me calls for all the fortitude I am able to borrow from reflection or example." — Aug. 21. "It is impossible that any thing can overcome the ardour of my wishes for my father's recovery; but if it were possible, the accounts I have observed of the general state of affairs would have that effect, as they appear to be verging towards a point of extreme importance, which would call for that superior aid, which this cruel illness must prevent them from receiving." — Sept. 15. "I fear the weather is still exceedingly unfavourable to my father. Without poetic fiction, such storms may be considered as ominous to the state; if they present the prospect of retarding his recovery, 'who asks no omen but his country's good.'" And again, in May 10, 1776. "It is some relief to find that Dr. Addington still comforts us with confident hopes; though I cannot but feel it cruel, that that is all we have to support us, without any amendment hitherto since I left you." — July 28. "I fear from your letter of yesterday, that my father's health will allow us no consolation, but that of melancholy comparison." — Oct. 2. "The accounts from Hayes of my father were such as left me nothing satisfactory to say on that affecting subject." — Nov. 20. "Your letter gave me real pleasure, as it contained a favourable account of my father."

him to Lord Chatham, as excessively sensible to the honour of his obliging communication. Nothing, however, can be welcome or flattering to Lord Shelburne, in comparison with that of hearing that Lord Chatham's health begins to mend; and her Ladyship will confer the highest favour in allowing me to partake the happiness of any such further promising accounts which her Ladyship may send to her friends in London.

I am not at all surprized that Lord Chatham, however retired, both sees and feels the critical and perilous state of the kingdom. The American affairs speak for themselves, notwithstanding all the

—And the following extracts from Mr. James Grenville's letters to Lady Chatham will explain the long interruption of all correspondence which now takes place:—Jan. 27, 1777. "I read your last letter with very great concern. It was evidently penned under circumstances of much alarm and trouble. I can readily conceive how much you must be agitated between such repeated alternatives; where the tide of gout is ever rising either too high, or ebbing to too low a pitch, and in both presenting scenes of danger and difficulty; to which may be added Lord Chatham's sufferings, which, in this last attack, must have been uncommonly violent."—Feb. 15. "I grieve to find by your letters, that you are agitated by fears and doubts. I feel with sensibility for the distress of a mind like yours labouring under so many disappointments, and uncommon vicissitudes of fear and hope."—April 7. "I sing, my dear sister, willing responses of joy to your joy, for the happy advances made by Lord Chatham towards an established recovery of his health."—June 4. "I congratulate you upon Lord Chatham's recovery and return to his wonted station, the service of the public. Though his efforts should prove abortive in these dark times, yet they will leave behind him lasting impressions of his own rectitude, and of other people's errors."

disguise of ministers, and their unprecedented suppression of all private letters.

I have reason to believe, that no engagement was entered into between France and America, as far as the month of October ; but fresh messengers were certainly then arrived with fresh powers, and what they may have done, it has not come in my way to know. If France chooses to avail herself of her advantages, she has most undoubtedly gained in her present armament three months ; which, in the opinion of the best professional authorities, no diligence can recover on our part, for the approaching spring. On the other hand, the imbecility of the person at the head of that country, the triflingness of M. de Maurepas, with whom the power rests, though he is incapable of taking a lead in any line, their natural levity, besides that they have the air throughout of a *sunk* people, makes me believe it within the reach of possibility, by an *instant* change of councils, to avert our fate ; particularly if it took place before the Spanish fleet sails against the Portuguese ; which otherwise, I am afraid, will be found to involve all the rest, and England will be to look for safety in the clouds.

I remain,

Your Ladyship's and Lord Chatham's
most devoted and obliged
humble servant,

SHELBURNE.

LANCELOT BROWN, ESQ. ⁽¹⁾ TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Hampton Court, May 3, 1777.

MY LORD,

IN a conversation I have lately had ⁽²⁾, I was heard with attention. I went as far as I durst, upon such tender ground. My reason for troubling your Lordship with this, is owing to a conversation I had with the Duke of Northumberland. I told his Grace the state of your Lordship's health; on which he told me he would immediately wait on your

(1) "Capability Brown." For a notice of him, see *antè*, p. 178. This worthy character came into the service of Lady Chatham's father when a boy, in 1737, and rose by his merit to be head gardener at Stowe; in which capacity he continued till 1750, when, at the recommendation of Lord Cobham, George the Second appointed him to the same situation at Hampton Court and Windsor. He died in 1783. The following pleasant passage is from a letter, written by Lord Chatham to Lady Stanhope:—"I will not fail to obey your Ladyship's commands by writing to Mr. Brown. I do so with particular pleasure, persuaded that you cannot take any other advice so intelligent or more honest. The chapter of my friend's dignity must not be omitted. He writes Lancelot Brown, Esquire, *en titre d'office*: please to consider, he shares the private hours of ———*, dines familiarly with his neighbour of Sien†, and sits down at the tables of all the House of Lords, &c. To be serious, Madam, he is deserving of the regard shown to him; for I know him, upon very long acquaintance, to be an honest man, and of sentiments much above his birth. As he lives at Hampton Court, and has many calls upon his time, he may not be at liberty."

(2) With the King.

* The King.

† The Duke of Northumberland.

Lordship. When he comes, I hope your Lordship will be well enough to see his Grace — no man more truly devoted to your Lordship's interest than he is. There was a meeting yesterday amongst the Lords Rockingham, Camden, Shelburne, Grafton, Abingdon, Craven, &c.

I hope your Lordship will excuse my officiousness, and believe it arises from the purest motives of love to my country, and being, with the most convinced mind of your Lordship's character, your Lordship's most devoted humble servant,

LANCELOT BROWN.

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT TO LANCELOT
BROWN, ESQ.

SIR,

THE state of my father's health, and his having at present many symptoms of gout about him, not allowing him to use his own pen, he has commissioned me to return you many thanks for the favour of your very obliging letter, and the friendly sentiments you express towards him. The present precarious state of his health (such strong symptoms of gout being about him) does not permit him to propose any time for enjoying the honour and satisfaction of the visit you mention; than which, whenever he shall be able to receive it, there can be nothing which will afford him more pleasure.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM PITT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO LORD CAMDEN.

[From a draught in the handwriting of Lord Chatham.]

Monday, May 26, 1777.

LORD CHATHAM desires to present his affectionate and respectful compliments to Lord Camden. His hand is too weak to write; but as he is enough recovered to hope to be able to crawl to the House of Lords, he means to be there, on Thursday next, in order to move the consideration of the American war. He requests the favour of Lord Camden to be so good as to summon the House, for this consideration, for Thursday next, and trusts his Lordship will pardon the great liberty he takes, in indulgence to an invalid friend. Enclosed is the motion intended for a cessation of hostilities.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Thursday afternoon, one o'clock,
May 29, 1777.

LORD ROCKINGHAM presents his best compliments to the Earl of Chatham, and is much obliged to his Lordship for the communication of the intended motion⁽¹⁾, the sentiments and objects of

(1) On the following day, the 30th, Lord Chatham, though in a state of great weakness, went down to the House of Lords,

which Lord Rockingham very much approves, and is very glad that Lord Chatham's state of health

and made his promised motion for a cessation of hostilities. The following report of his speech is from the Parliamentary History : —

The Earl of *Chatham* rose and said, — “ My Lords, this is a flying moment ; perhaps but six weeks left to arrest the dangers that surround us. The gathering storm may break ; it has already opened, and in part burst. It is difficult for government, after all that has passed, to shake hands with defiers of the King, defiers of the parliament, defiers of the people. I am a defier of nobody ; but if an end is not put to this war, there is an end to this country. I do not trust my judgment in my present state of health : this is the judgment of my better days — the result of forty years' attention to America. They are rebels ; but for what ? Surely not for defending their unquestionable rights ! What have these rebels done heretofore ? I remember when they raised four regiments on their own bottom, and took Louisbourg from the veteran troops of France. But their excesses have been great : I do not mean their panegyrie ; but must observe, in extenuation, the erroneous and infatuated counsels which have prevailed — the door to mercy and justice has been shut against them ; but they may still be taken up upon the grounds of their former submission. [Referring to their petition.] I state to you the importance of America : it is a double market — the market of consumption, and the market of supply. This double market for millions, with naval stores, you are giving to your hereditary rival. America has carried you through four wars, and will now carry you to your death, if you don't take things in time. In the sportsman's phrase, when you have found yourselves at fault, you must try back. You have ransacked every corner of Lower Saxony ; but 40,000 German boors never can conquer ten times the number of British freemen. You may ravage — you cannot conquer ; it is impossible : you cannot conquer the Americans. You talk of your numerous friends to annihilate the Congress, and of your powerful forces to disperse their army : I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch ! But what would you conquer — the map of America ? I am ready to meet any general officer on the subject. [Looking at Lord Amherst.] What will you do out of the protection of your fleet ? In the winter, if together, they are starved ; and if dispersed, they are taken off in detail. I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises : I know what ministers throw out ; but at last will come your equinoctial disappointment. You have got nothing in America but stations. You have been three years teaching them the art of war : they are apt scholars ; and I will venture to tell your Lordships, that the American gentry will make officers enough fit to command the troops

enables his Lordship to enforce such principles as Lord Rockingham trusts it cannot now be long before his Majesty and this country will re-adopt.

of all the European powers. What you have sent there, are too many to make peace—too few to make war. If you conquer them, what then? You cannot make them respect you; you cannot make them wear your cloth: you will plant an invincible hatred in their breasts against you. Coming from the stock they do, they can never respect you. If ministers are founded in saying there is no sort of treaty with France, there is still a moment left; the point of honour is still safe. France must be as self-destroying as England, to make a treaty while you are giving her America, at the expense of twelve millions a year: the intercourse has produced every thing to France; and England, Old England, must pay for all. I have, at different times, made different propositions, adapted to the circumstances in which they were offered. The plan contained in the former bill is now impracticable: the present motion will tell you where you are, and what you have now to depend upon. It may produce a respectable division in America, and unanimity at home: it will give America an option; she has yet made no option. You have said, ‘Lay down your arms;’ and she has given you the Spartan answer: ‘Come, take.’” [Here he read his motion.]

“‘That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most dutifully representing to his royal wisdom, that this House is deeply penetrated with the view of impending ruin to the kingdom, from the continuation of an unnatural war against the British colonies in America; and most humbly to advise his Majesty to take the most speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to such fatal hostilities, upon the only just and solid foundation, namely, the removal of accumulated grievances; and to assure his Majesty, that this House will enter upon this great and necessary work with cheerfulness and despatch, in order to open to his Majesty the only means of regaining the affections of the British colonies, and of securing to Great Britain the commercial advantages of these valuable possessions; fully persuaded, that to heal and to redress will be more congenial to the goodness and magnanimity of his Majesty, and more prevalent over the hearts of generous and freeborn subjects, than the rigours of chastisement, and the horrors of a civil war, which hitherto have served only to sharpen resentments and consolidate union, and, if continued, must end in finally dissolving all ties between Great Britain and the colonies.’” — His Lordship rose again:—

“The proposal,” he said, “is specific. I thought this so clear, that I did not enlarge upon it. I mean the redress of all their grievances, and the right of disposing of their own money. This is to be done instantaneously. I will get out of my bed to move it on Monday. This will be the herald of peace; this will open the way for treaty; this will

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT TO THE
COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.Hotel, King's Street, Saturday morning,
May 31, 1777.

MY DEAR MOTHER,

I HAD not time to write last night, as the House did not rise till near ten, and I then went in quest

show Parliament sincerely disposed. Yet still much must be left to treaty. Should you conquer this people, you conquer under the cannon of France; under a masked battery then ready to open. The moment a treaty with France appears, you must declare war, though you had only five ships of the line in England; but France will defer a treaty as long as possible. You are now at the mercy of every little German chancery; and the pretensions of France will increase daily, so as to become an avowed party in either peace or war. We have tried for unconditional submission: try what can be gained by unconditional redress. Less dignity will be lost in the repeal, than in submitting to the demands of German chanceries. We are the aggressors. We have invaded them. We have invaded them as much as the Spanish Armada invaded England. Mercy cannot do harm; it will seat the King where he ought to be, throned in the hearts of his people; and millions at home and abroad, now employed in obloquy or revolt, would pray for him.

“ In making his motion for addressing the King, he insisted frequently and strongly on the absolute necessity of immediately making peace with America. Now, he said, was the crisis, before France was a party to the treaty. This was the only moment left before the fate of this country was decided. The French court, he observed, was too wise to lose the opportunity of effectually separating America from the dominions of this kingdom. War between France and Great Britain, he said, was not less probable because it had not yet been declared: it would be folly in France to declare it now, while America gave full employment to our arms, and was pouring into her lap her wealth and produce; the benefit of which she was enjoying in peace. He enlarged much on the importance of America to this country, which, in peace and in war, he observed, he ever considered as the great source of all our wealth and power.” He then added, raising his voice, “ Your trade languishes, your taxes increase, your revenues diminish. France, at this moment, is securing and drawing to herself that commerce, which created your seamen, fed your islands, &c. He repro-

of a dinner. In the way of information, therefore, this letter will come late ; which you will have the

bated the measures which produced, and which have been pursued in the conduct of the civil war, in the severest language ; infatuated measures giving rise, and still continuing a cruel, unnatural, self-destroying war. Success, it is said, is hoped for in this campaign. Why ? Because our army will be as strong this year as it was last, when it was not strong enough. The notion of conquering America he treated with the greatest contempt."

After an animated debate, during which the motion was opposed by Lords Gower, Lyttelton, Mansfield, Weymouth, and the Archbishop of York ; and supported by the Dukes of Grafton and Manchester, Lords Camden and Shelburne, and by the Bishop of Peterborough, —

The Earl of *Chatham* again rose and said, in reply to what had fallen from Lord Weymouth, — " My Lords, I perceive the noble Lord does not apprehend my meaning. My motion was stated generally, that I might leave the question at large to be amended by your Lordships. I did not dare to point out the specific means. I drew the motion up to the best of my poor abilities ; but I intended it only as the herald of conciliation, as the harbinger of peace to our afflicted colonies. But as the noble Lord seems to wish for something more specific on the subject, and through that medium seeks my particular sentiments, I will tell your Lordships very fairly what I wish for. I wish for a repeal of every oppressive act which your Lordships have passed since 1763. I would put our brethren in America precisely on the same footing they stood at that period. I would expect, that being left at liberty to tax themselves, and dispose of their own property, they would, in return, contribute to the common burdens, according to their means and abilities. I will move your Lordships for a bill of repeal, as the only means left to arrest that approaching destruction which threatens to overwhelm us. — My Lords, I shall no doubt hear it objected, 'Why should we submit or concede ? Has America done any thing on her part to induce us to agree to so large a ground of concession ?' I will tell you, my Lords, why I think you should. You have been the aggressors from the beginning. I shall not trouble your Lordships with the particulars ; they have been stated and enforced by the noble and learned Lord, who spoke last but one (Lord Camden), in a much more able and distinct manner than I could pretend to state them. If, then, we are the aggressors, it is your Lordships' business to make the first overture. I say again, this country has been the aggressor. You have made descents upon their coasts ; you have burnt their towns

goodness to forgive. It is with another motive that I write it; which is, that I cannot help expressing to you how happy beyond description I feel in reflecting that my father was able to exert, in their full vigour, the sentiments and eloquence which have always distinguished him. His first speech took up half an hour, and was full of all his usual force and vivacity. I only regretted, that he did not always raise his voice enough for all the House to hear every thing he said. If they felt as I did, however, they must have heard abundantly enough to be charmed and transported.

I have not time, and I fear scarcely memory, to do justice to his particular expressions; most of which, I flatter myself, you will hear from himself, as well as, in general, the substance of what he said. He spoke a second time, in answer to Lord Weymouth, to explain the object of his motion, and his

plundered their country, made war upon the inhabitants, confiscated their property, proscribed and imprisoned their persons. I do therefore affirm, my Lords, that instead of exacting unconditional submission from the colonies, we should grant them unconditional redress. We have injured them; we have endeavoured to enslave and oppress them. Upon this ground, my Lords, instead of chastisement, they are entitled to redress. A repeal of those laws, of which they complain, will be the first step to that redress. The people of America look upon parliament as the authors of their miseries; their affections are estranged from their sovereign. Let, then, reparation come from the hands that inflicted the injuries; let conciliation succeed chastisement; and I do maintain, that parliament will again recover its authority; that his Majesty will be once more enthroned in the hearts of his American subjects; and that your Lordships, as contributing to so great, glorious, salutary, and benignant a work, will receive the prayers and benedictions of every part of the British empire."

The House divided: for the motion twenty-eight; against it ninety-nine.

intention to follow it by one for the repeal of all the acts of parliament, which form the system of chas-tisement. This he did in a flow of eloquence, and with a beauty of expression, animated and striking beyond conception. The various incidents of the debate you will undoubtedly learn ; so that I need not detain you with an account of them. You will, I think, also hear, that among the supporters of the motion, Lord Shelburne was as great as possible. His speech was one of the most interesting and forcible, I think, that I ever heard, or even can imagine. Lord Mansfield appeared to me to make a miserable attempt to mislead his hearers, and cavil at the question.

I have almost forgot my original object, which was only to congratulate you on this most happy event ; on which I cannot say enough, though I feel it is unnecessary to say any thing. I am going out of town at eleven, with Lord Althorp. Adieu, my dear mother, and believe me your ever dutiful and affectionate son,

W. PITT.

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT TO THE
COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Pembroke Hall, Tuesday,
June 3, 1777.

MY DEAR MOTHER,

WHEN I have told you that I reached this place on Saturday, happy beyond measure in the excursion I had made, and that I am here perfectly well,

having resumed the placid uniformity of a Cambridge life, I shall have said all I have to say. I must, however, add a few superfluous lines to say what is wholly unnecessary. Why need I tell you, that I am impatient to hear from Hayes, and have an account of you all? This you know already; and yet something on this subject will fall from my pen, whether I will or no. I shall tell you, without intending it, that I am anxious to hear that you have lost your complaints and are recovering your strength as fast as I wish; as well as that my father continues to have the same appearance of health that he had in the House of Lords on Friday, and that his amendment is confirmed every day.

His glorious exertions must, I think, be useful to himself, even though they should not at length prove so to others; which, however, I still flatter myself they will, in the highest degree. I am vastly sorry to find that those who had not the singular satisfaction of hearing him deliver his opinion will be imposed upon by a very false account of his speech. At least, all the accounts I have yet met with come within that description, and seem rather to have been the absurd production of imagination, than any thing approaching to the relation of what passed. I am extremely happy that I had the good fortune to be present myself at so interesting a debate; and feel more satisfaction than I can express in the recollection of so fortunate an event. Believe me your most dutiful and affectionate son,

WILLIAM PITT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE HONOURABLE
WILLIAM PITT.

Hayes, September 22, 1777.

How can I employ my reviving pen so well as by addressing a few lines to the hope and comfort of my life, my dear William? You will have pleasure to see, under my own hand, that I mend every day, and that I am all but well. I have been this morning to Camden Place, and sustained, most manfully, a visit, and all the idle talk thereof, for above an hour by Mr. Norman's clock; and returned home untired to dinner, where I eat like a farmer.

Lord Mahon has confounded, not convinced, the incorrigible *soi-disant* Dr. Wilson. Dr. Franklin's lightning, rebel as he is, stands proved the more innocent; and Wilson's nob's yield to the pointed conductors. On Friday, Lord Mahon's indefatigable spirit is to exhibit another *incendium*⁽¹⁾, to Lord Mayor, foreign ministers, and all lovers of philosophy and the good of society; and means to illuminate the horizon with a little bonfire of twelve hundred faggots and a double edifice. Had our dear friend been

(1) Among the ingenious discoveries of Lord Mahon, was a method of rendering buildings fire-proof. So confident was he in the efficacy of his plan, that he erected in the park at Chevening a wooden building, in the upper story of which he invited a party of scientific friends to partake of ices and other refreshments, and then lighted an immense bonfire in the room below, and on one side of the house. A full account of the invention and experiment was published in the Philosophical Transactions for 1778, and republished in the Annual Register of the following year.

born sooner, Nero and the second Charles could never have amused themselves by reducing to ashes the two noblest cities of the world.

My hand begins to demand repose ; — so with my best compliments to Aristotle, Homer, Thucydides, Xenophon, not forgetting the civilians and law of nations tribe, adieu, my dearest William,

Your ever most affectionate father,

CHATHAM.

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Pembroke Hall, September 26, 1777.

MY DEAR FATHER,

IF that employment of your pen is the best, which creates the most sincere and genuine happiness, it is indeed impossible even for you to employ it half so well, as in addressing to me those most kind and welcome lines, which have afforded me such singular satisfaction ; and I am sure it is as impossible for mine to employ itself so naturally or agreeably, as by indulging the overflowings of joy, and carrying the warmest tribute of thanks to the Source from whence they have issued. Your pen cannot revive, without reviving with it a thousand attendant pleasures and advantages. Rhetorics, politics, and ethics seem already to show me

more consideration, having such credentials with me ; at least, for some cause or other, from them and every other channel, since the receipt of your letter, I derive double satisfaction.

I am very sorry to be at a distance from the spectacle Lord Mahon is to exhibit on Friday ; which has every thing to interest the eye and the mind. The magistrate of such a city, surveying such a flame disarmed of its terror present themselves to my imagination ; though, in the objects near me, I have nothing to aid my idea of so superb an illumination, but the dimness of a solitary lamp in a gloomy cloister, or any other image of magistracy, than a ragged corporation presiding over “*Stirbitch*” (1) fair, and performing the functions that so long ago characterised their office : —

“De mensurâ jus dicere ; Vasa minora
Frangere pannosus vacuis Ædilis Ulubris.” (2)

By a letter from Harriot, the other day, I learn that you have had the happiness of hearing from the sailor. I hope he is as prosperous in his element of water, as Lord Mahon in his of fire. We have not had a word of news here ; so that I am confined strictly to my ancient politics, though not without some impatience to relieve my suspense,

(1) A cant expression for Stourbridge, or *pot fair*, as it is sometimes called.

(2) Juvenal, sat. x. ; thus translated by Gifford —

“And take the tarnished robe, and petty state,
Of poor Ulubris’ ragged magistrate.”

by an excursion into those of modern times ; which however, the silence of Gazettes, &c. denies me.

I am called away by the irresistible summons of a dinner-bell, which on an *exceeding* day, as this is, with a tone of increased solemnity, requires my presence in the Hall, to do justice to the character of a collegiate ; more weighty, on this occasion, than even your own of a farmer. Adieu, then, my dear father, and believe the hasty scrawl, which assures you how sincerely I am ever

Your dutiful and affectionate son,

WILLIAM PITT.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO DR. ADDINGTON.

[From the original in the possession of Viscount Sidmouth.]

Hayes, September 26, 1777.

THE early efforts of a pen newly restored to activity are certainly no where so due as to him who, under the goodness of the Almighty, I consider as the restorer of the measure of returning health and comfort which I now enjoy. Your judicious sagacity and kind care, my most worthy and constant friend, have, by God's Providence, saved me when every one seemed to have lost all hope for me. I trust that the sight of my handwriting will not be unwelcome to you, when I can tell

you, that I am *all but* well, and know what it is to *hope* that more of health may be in store for me. Could I be the fortunate instrument of healing the wounds of a distressed country, which stands upon the perilous edge of a fatal precipice, I should have lived not in vain; but alas! I see no way of political salvation — *fuit Ilium et ingens gloria*.

I quit the melancholy theme to tell you I rejoice that your Herculean labours of subduing Devonshire monsters (rogues combined of the plough and of the quill) are happily over, and trust you will have laid in a stock of rural strength, to enjoy a good winter after such strenuous achievements.⁽¹⁾ We shall count the days till we have the pleasure of seeing you again. Our best compliments attend Mrs. Addington, and every warm wish for the health and welfare of you and yours.

Your truly affectionate

CHATHAM.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Stowe, September 28, 1777.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE handwriting, which I have so much loved and honoured, was most welcome to me, as it confirmed the very favourable account sent by Mrs.

(¹) Dr. Addington had written to Lord Chatham to announce his success in a law-suit, in which he had been engaged in Devonshire.

Grenville of your more than perfect recovery, and as the letter was replete with all those sentiments of kindness, which, before the sad interval of your illness, had so happily subsisted betwixt us. This same hill of Stowe, on which we have spent our happiest days, perhaps, though not your most glorious, is so changed, that you would scarce know it again; but we have both been at the point, more than once, since last we met, of bidding a long farewell to all the pomps and vanities of this sublunary world. I will not say, that I regret the not proceeding on my journey, when I was got so near to the end of it; but it would have saved me much misery, and the humiliating grief of seeing this great country verging by large strides to her ruin. Conquerors or conquered, I see nothing but calamity; yet my ardent option is victory to this country, and decisive ones too. I have not had a finger ache since my last great illness. Cold bath, every other day, performs wonders.

Your most truly affectionate

TEMPLE.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Stowe, October 21, 1777.

MY DEAR SISTER,

HOWEVER animating your expressions may be of feeling for the public, the past, the present, and the future, it is impossible to look to that dreadful

scene, without every depression which can sink the mind of a zealous friend to *this* country. I am no party to the war, nor am I to the causes of it, which I think my greatest happiness; but, engaged as we are in, I think, a most just cause, I cannot but wish victory to dear, dear England: reconciliation, founded in the independence of America, makes me rather choose to treat with a beaten enemy; at the same time, I confess I see no promising solution any way. I hope the kind hand of omnipotent fortune at last may, somehow or other, bring two friends to be able to act or think together, who, I am confident, most sincerely wish it; and whilst I am yet writing, who knows what she may have effected towards it? I can only say, I have never deviated from what were my explained thoughts, at the last agreeable *tête-à-tête* dinner in Pall Mall. I remain, most affectionately, my dear sister's

TEMPLE.

LANCELOT BROWN, ESQ. TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Hampton Court, November 11, 1777.

MADAM,

I HAVE had no opportunity of returning my thanks to your Ladyship, for the agreeable news of the restoration of Lord Chatham's health. I can assure your Ladyship, that I did not fail in putting

it to the use I wished and meant to have it for. One part of it did inexpressible good ; which was that of informing me, that you had wrote to your brother, “for fear a newspaper description might alarm his Lordship.”

To-day, and indeed many opportunities have occurred of late, in which I have had very favourable conversations⁽¹⁾ ; —no acrimony, nor ill will appeared. I was told, that Lord Chatham was perfectly restored ; much conversation arose on the word *restored*. I was then informed, that his Lordship was to come up to oppose the Address for the Speech ; I said, that it was very unlike Lord Chatham to declare he would oppose before he knew the subject. I was told the intelligence was from an enemy’s quarter ; but that quarter had it from Lord Camden, or in his channel. I then ventured to repeat what he had seen in your Ladyship’s letter, that Lord Chatham was not changed in sentiment ; that I was very sure what his Lordship had advanced was meant for the dignity of the crown, the happiness of his Majesty and the royal family, and the lustre of the whole empire ; that I had always considered his Lordship in the light of being a friend to the whole, not parts of the empire ; that he was a friend to correction, where it was necessary, but that he had rather have the rod kissed than make use of it ; that some people had very much injured Lord Chatham

(1) With the King. See *antè*, p. 430.

in calling him an American, abstracted from the duty of a good English subject; because I knew, after forty years' experience, that no man loved his country more; indeed, nothing could be so strong a proof of it, as his Lordship standing alone, unconnected with party or faction. His answer was, that Lord Chatham had too much good sense to wish harm to his country.

My opinion is, that we are in great distress; the bad news well authenticated, the good has had no confirmation. The court sal-volatile is Lord Amherst; who comforts them with a total annihilation of Washington's army, &c. Your Ladyship will be so good as to excuse this long letter, and take the will for the deed. My motives and wish are the happiness of the King and the country.

I am your Ladyship's, &c.

LANCELOT BROWN.

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO LANCELOT
BROWN, ESQ.

Hayes, Thursday, November 13, 1777.

SIR,

NEITHER I nor my Lord have wanted any assurance that your conduct respecting him, at all times, is ever dictated by your kind friendship towards us. The letter I have just received from you is an additional proof of it, and claims our sincerest thanks. It is impossible not to feel

sensibly the animation of your conversation, in support of the rectitude of my Lord's principles, and of his zeal for the prosperity of the whole empire, and the true solid glory of his Majesty.

You may be persuaded, that your having been "heard favourably," and "without acrimony," affords real comfort and happiness to my Lord; who is most undoubtedly actuated in all he does, or means to do, by the purest motives of disinterested concern for the King, and for the country. You know that this is not words, but an existing truth, to which his conduct has been always consistent. His view of things now tells him, that *ruin* is at our door, if not *immediately* prevented. From the stamp-act to this day, his judgments, he says, concerning America, have never varied. In the present terrifying crisis, to be silent on the first day of the session would be want of duty to the King, and utter insensibility to the public calamities. The ardent wish of my heart co-operates entirely with his, that the past may be redeemed by happier councils. You join, I am sure, in the same honest hope. The sentiments of esteem and friendship which my Lord and myself have for you are of the most unfeigned sort; which I beg you to believe, as well as that I am ever, &c.

HESTER CHATHAM.

The sal-volatile mentioned in your letter is, indeed, a poor cordial; and, considering the quarter it comes from, *astonishing*.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Wednesday, 12 o'clock,
November 19, 1777.

LORD ROCKINGHAM presents his best compliments to Lord Chatham, and returns his Lordship many thanks for the honour of the communication of the motion, which Lord Chatham proposes by way of Amendment to the Address.⁽¹⁾ Lord Rock-

⁽¹⁾ Lord Chatham appeared, accordingly, in the House of Lords on the 20th. His speech upon this occasion was reported by Mr. Hugh Boyd, and is as follows : —

The Earl of *Chatham* said : — “ I rise, my Lords, to declare my sentiments on this most solemn and serious subject. It has imposed a load upon my mind, which, I fear, nothing can remove ; but which impels me to endeavour its alleviation, by a free and unreserved communication of my sentiments. In the first part of the Address, I have the honour of heartily concurring with the noble Earl who moved it. No man feels sincerer joy than I do ; none can offer more genuine congratulation on every accession of strength to the Protestant succession : I therefore join in every congratulation on the birth of another princess and the happy recovery of her Majesty. But I must stop here ; my courtly complaisance will carry me no further : I will not join in congratulation on misfortune and disgrace : I cannot concur in a blind and servile address, which approves, and endeavours to sanctify, the monstrous measures that have heaped disgrace and misfortune upon us — that have brought ruin to our doors. This, my Lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment ! It is no time for adulation. The smoothness of flattery cannot now avail — cannot save us in this rugged and awful crisis. It is now necessary to instruct the throne in the language of truth. We must dispel the delusion and the darkness which envelope it ; and display, in its full danger and true colours, the ruin that is brought to our doors.

“ This, my Lords, is our duty ; it is the proper function of this noble assembly, sitting, as we do, upon our honours in this House, the hereditary council of the crown ; and *who* is the minister — *where* is the minister, that has dared to suggest to the throne the contrary unconstitutional language this day delivered from it ? — The accustomed

ingham most readily and heartily concurs, and shall be glad of an early opportunity of a full and

language from the throne has been application to parliament for advice, and a reliance on its constitutional advice and assistance: as it is the right of parliament to give, so it is the duty of the crown to ask it. But, on this day, and in this extreme momentous exigency, no reliance is reposed on our constitutional counsels! no advice is asked from the sober and enlightened care of parliament! But the crown, from itself, and by itself, declares an unalterable determination to pursue measures — and what measures, my Lords? — The measures that have produced the imminent perils that threaten us; the measures that have brought ruin to our doors.

“ Can the minister of the day now presume to expect a continuance of support, and in this ruinous infatuation? Can parliament be so dead to its dignity and its duty as to be thus deluded into the loss of the one, and the violation of the other? — To give an unlimited credit and support for the *steady* perseverance in measures — that is the word and the conduct — proposed for our parliamentary advice, but dictated and forced upon us — in measures, I say, my Lords, which have reduced this late flourishing empire to ruin and contempt! — *But yesterday, and England might have stood against the world: now none so poor to do her reverence.* I use the words of a poet; but though it be poetry, it is no fiction. It is a shameful truth, that not only the power and strength of this country are wasting away and expiring; but her well-earned glories, her true honour, and substantial dignity, are sacrificed. France, my Lords, has insulted you; she has encouraged and sustained America; and whether America be wrong or right, the dignity of this country ought to spurn at the officious insult of French interference. The ministers and ambassadors of those who are called rebels and enemies are in Paris; in Paris they transact the reciprocal interests of America and France. Can there be a more mortifying insult? Can even our ministers sustain a more humiliating disgrace? Do they dare to resent it? Do they presume even to hint a vindication of their honour, and the dignity of the state, by requiring the dismissal of the plenipotentiaries of America? Such is the degradation to which they have reduced the glories of England! The people, whom they affect to call contemptible rebels, but whose growing power has at last obtained the name of enemies; the people with whom they have engaged this country in war, and against whom they now command our implicit support in every measure of desperate hostility: this people, despised as rebels, or acknowledged as enemies, are abetted against you, supplied with every military store, their interests consulted, and their ambassadors entertained, by your invete-

ample communication with Lord Chatham, in order to consider what mode or manner of proceeding, in

rate enemy ! and our ministers dare not interpose with dignity or effect. Is this the honour of a great kingdom ? Is this the indignant spirit of England, who, ‘ but yesterday,’ gave law to the House of Bourbon ? My Lords, the dignity of nations demands a decisive conduct in a situation like this. Even when the greatest prince that perhaps this country ever saw filled our throne, the requisition of a Spanish general, on a similar subject, was attended to, and complied with ; for, on the spirited remonstrance of the Duke of Alva, Elizabeth found herself obliged to deny the Flemish exiles all countenance, support, or even entrance into her dominions ; and the Count le Marque, with his few desperate followers, was expelled the kingdom. Happening to arrive at the Brille, and finding it weak in defence, they made themselves masters of the place ; and this was the foundation of the United Provinces.

“ My Lords, this ruinous and ignominious situation, where we cannot act with success, nor suffer with honour, calls upon us to remonstrate in the strongest and loudest language of truth, to rescue the ear of Majesty from the delusions which surround it. The desperate state of our arms abroad is in part known : no man thinks more highly of them than I do : I love and honour the English troops : I know their virtues and their valour : I know they can achieve any thing except impossibilities ; and I know that the conquest of English America *is an impossibility*. You cannot, I venture to say it, you *CANNOT* conquer America. Your armies last war effected every thing that could be effected ; and what was it ? It cost a numerous army, under the command of a most able general, now a noble Lord in this house [Amherst], a long and laborious campaign, to expel five thousand Frenchmen from French America. My Lords, *you cannot conquer America*. What is your present situation there ? We do not know the worst, but we know, that in three campaigns we have done nothing, and suffered much. Besides the sufferings, perhaps *total loss*, of the northern force * ; the best appointed army that ever took the field, commanded by Sir William Howe, has retired from the American lines ; *he was obliged* to relinquish his attempt, and, with great delay and danger, to adopt a new and distant plan of operations. We shall soon know, and in any event have reason to lament, what may have happened since. As to conquest, therefore, my Lords, I repeat, it is impossible. — You may swell every expense, and every effort, still more extrava-

* General Burgoyne’s army. The account of the *total loss* here predicted arrived in England in the beginning of December.

the present emergency of affairs, may be most conducive to the desirable end of saving this country

gantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince, that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince; your efforts are for ever vain and impotent — doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates, to an incurable resentment, the minds of your enemies — to over-run them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder; devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms — never — never — never.

“Your own army is infected with the contagion of these illiberal allies. The spirit of plunder and of rapine is gone forth among them. I know it — and notwithstanding what the noble Earl, who moved the address, has given as his opinion of our American army, I know from authentic information, and the *most experienced officers*, that our discipline is deeply wounded. Whilst this is notoriously our sinking situation, America grows and flourishes; whilst our strength and discipline are lowered, theirs are rising and improving.

“But, my Lords, who is the man that, in addition to these disgraces and mischiefs of our army, has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage? To call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman savage of the woods; to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My Lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment: unless thoroughly done away, it will be a stain on the national character — it is a violation of the constitution — I believe it is against law. It is not the least of our national misfortunes, that the strength and character of our army are thus impaired: infected with the mercenary spirit of robbery and rapine — familiarized to the horrid scenes of savage cruelty, it can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dignify a soldier; no longer sympathize with the dignity of the royal banner, nor feel the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war, ‘that make ambition virtue!’ What makes ambition virtue? — the sense of honour. But is the sense of honour consistent with a spirit of plunder, or the practice of murder? Can it flow from mercenary motives, or can it prompt to cruel deeds? Besides these murderers and plunderers, let me ask our ministers — what other allies have they acquired? What *other powers* have they associated to their cause? Have they entered into alliance with the *king of the gipsies*? Nothing, my Lords, is too low or too ludicrous to be consistent with their counsels.

from utter ruin. It doubtless would be right that, in the House of Commons, the same line of pro-

“ The independent views of America have been stated and asserted as the foundation of this Address. My Lords, no man wishes more for the due dependence of America on this country than I do : to preserve it, and not confirm that state of independence into which *your measures* hitherto have *driven* them, is the object which we ought to unite in attaining. The Americans, contending for their rights against arbitrary exactions, I love and admire; it is the struggle of free and virtuous patriots : but, contending for independency and total disconnection from England, as an Englishman, I cannot wish them success ; for in a due constitutional dependency, including the ancient supremacy of this country in regulating their commerce and navigation, consists the mutual happiness and prosperity both of England and America. She derived assistance and protection from us, and we reaped from her the most important advantages : she was, indeed, the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the nursery and basis of our naval power. It is our duty, therefore, my Lords, if we wish to save our country, most seriously to endeavour the recovery of these most beneficial subjects : and in this perilous crisis, perhaps the present moment may be the only one in which we can hope for success ; for, in their negotiations with France, they have, or think they have, reason to complain : though it be notorious that they have received from that power important supplies and assistance of various kinds, yet it is certain they expected it in a more decisive and immediate degree. America is in ill humour with France, on some points that have not entirely answered her expectations : let us wisely take advantage of every possible moment of reconciliation. Besides, the natural disposition of America herself still leans towards England— to the old habits of connection and mutual interest that united both countries. This *was* the established sentiment of all the continent ; and still, my Lords, in the great and principal part, the sound part of America, this wise and affectionate disposition prevails ; and there is a very considerable part of America yet sound—the middle and the southern provinces : some parts may be factious and blind to their true interests ; but if we express a wise and benevolent disposition to communicate with them those immutable rights of nature, and those constitutional liberties, to which they are equally entitled with ourselves, by a conduct so just and humane, we shall confirm the favourable, and conciliate the adverse—I say, my Lords, the rights and liberties to which they are equally entitled with ourselves, but no more. I would participate with them every enjoyment and freedom which the colonizing subjects of a free state can possess, or wish to possess ; and I do not see why they should not enjoy every fundamental right in their property, and every original substantial liberty, which Devonshire or Surrey, or the county I live in, or any other

ceeding should be held, in many respects. It appears to Lord Rockingham, that it would be

county in England, can claim; reserving always, as the sacred right of the mother-country, the due constitutional dependency of the colonies. The inherent supremacy of the state, in regulating and protecting the navigation and commerce of all her subjects, is necessary for the mutual benefit and preservation of every part, to constitute and preserve the prosperous arrangement of the whole empire.

“The sound parts of America, of which I have spoken, must be sensible of these great truths, and of their real interests. America is not in that state of desperate and contemptible rebellion which this country has been deluded to believe. It is not a wild and lawless banditti, who, having nothing to lose, might hope to snatch something from public convulsions; many of their leaders and great men have a great stake in this great contest:—the gentleman who conducts their armies, I am told, has an estate of four or five thousand pounds a year; and when I consider these things, I cannot but lament the inconsiderate violence of our penal acts—our declarations of treason and rebellion, with all the fatal effects of attainder and confiscation.

“As to the disposition of foreign powers, which is asserted to be pacific and friendly, let us judge, my Lords, rather by their actions and the nature of things, than by interested assertions. The uniform assistance, supplied to America by France, suggests a different conclusion:—the most important interests of France, in aggrandizing and enriching herself with what she most wants, supplies of every naval store from America, must inspire her with different sentiments. The extraordinary preparations of the House of Bourbon, by land and by sea, from Dunkirk to the Streights, equally ready and willing to overwhelm these defenceless islands, should rouse us to a sense of their real disposition, and our own danger. Not five thousand troops in England!—hardly three thousand in Ireland! What can we oppose to the combined force of our enemies?—Scarcely twenty ships of the line fully or sufficiently manned, that any admiral’s reputation would permit him to take the command of!—The river of Lisbon in the possession of our enemies!—The seas swept by American privateers!—Our Channel torn to pieces by them! In this complicated crisis of danger, weakness at home, and calamity abroad, terrified and insulted by the neighbouring powers—unable to act in America, or acting only to be destroyed—where is the man with the forehead to promise or hope for success in such a situation? or, from perseverance in the measures that have driven us to it? Who has the forehead to do so? Where is that man? I should be glad to see his face.

“You cannot *conciliate* America by your present measures—you cannot *subdue* her by your present or by any measures. What, then,

most right that Lord Granby should be persuaded to be the mover of a similar amendment.

can you do? You cannot conquer, you cannot gain, but you can *address*; you can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment into an ignorance of the danger that should produce them. But, my Lords, the time demands the language of truth:—we must not now apply the flattering unction of servile compliance, or blind complaisance. In a just and necessary war, to maintain the rights or honour of my country, I would strip the shirt from my back to support it. But in such a war as this, unjust in its principle, impracticable in its means, and ruinous in its consequences, I would not contribute a single effort, nor a single shilling. I do not call for vengeance on the heads of those who have been guilty; I only recommend to them to make their retreat; let them walk off; and let them make haste, or they may be assured that speedy and condign punishment will overtake them.

“ My Lords, I have submitted to you, with the freedom and truth which I think my duty, my sentiments on your present awful situation. I have laid before you the ruin of your power, the disgrace of your reputation, the pollution of your discipline, the contamination of your morals, the complication of calamities, foreign and domestic, that overwhelm your sinking country. Your dearest interests, your own liberties, the constitution itself, totters to the foundation. All this disgraceful danger, this multitude of misery, is the monstrous offspring of this unnatural war. We have been deceived and deluded too long: let us now stop short: this is the crisis—may be the only crisis, of time and situation to give us a possibility of escape from the fatal effects of our delusions. But if in an obstinate and infatuated perseverance in folly we meanly echo back the peremptory words this day presented to us, nothing can save this devoted country from complete and final ruin. We madly rush into multiplied miseries and ‘ confusion worse confounded.’

“ Is it possible, can it be believed, that ministers are yet blind to this impending destruction?—I did hope, that instead of this false and empty vanity, this overweening pride, engendering high conceits, and presumptuous imaginations—that ministers would have humbled themselves in their errors, would have confessed and retracted them, and by an active, though a late repentance, have endeavoured to redeem them. But, my Lords, since they had neither sagacity to foresee, nor justice nor humanity to shun, these oppressive calamities; since, not even severe experience can make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country awaken them from their stupefaction, the guardian care of parliament must interpose. I shall, therefore, my Lords, propose to you an amendment to the address to his Majesty, to be inserted immediately after the two first paragraphs of congratulation on the birth of a princess: to recommend an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Thursday, half-past 4 o'clock p. m.
November 27, 1777.

MY LORD,

I MUST trouble your Lordship with rather a long detail of what has passed here this morning, at a

a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries.—This, my Lords, is yet in our power; and let not the wisdom and justice of your Lordships neglect the happy and, perhaps, the only opportunity. By the establishment of irrevocable law, founded on mutual rights, and ascertained by treaty, these glorious enjoyments may be firmly perpetuated. And let me repeat to your Lordships, that the strong bias of America, at least of the wise and sounder parts of it, naturally inclines to this happy and constitutional reconnection with you. Notwithstanding the temporary intrigues with France, we may still be assured of their ancient and confirmed partiality to us. America and France cannot be congenial; there is something decisive and confirmed in the honest American, that will not assimilate to the futility and levity of Frenchmen.

“ My Lords, to encourage and confirm that innate inclination to this country, founded on every principle of affection, as well as consideration of interest—to restore that favourable disposition into a permanent and powerful re-union with this country—to revive the mutual strength of the empire;—again, to awe the House of Bourbon, instead of meanly truckling, as our present calamities compel us, to every insult of French caprice, and Spanish punctilio—to re-establish our commerce—to reassert our rights and our honour—to confirm our interests, and renew our glories for ever (a consummation most devoutly to be endeavoured! and which, I trust, may yet arise from reconciliation with America.)—I have the honour of submitting to you the following amendment; which I move to be inserted after the two first paragraphs of the address:—

“ ‘ And that this House does most humbly advise and supplicate his Majesty to be pleased to cause the most speedy and effectual measures to be taken for restoring peace in America; and that no time may be lost in proposing an immediate cessation of hostilities there, in order to the opening a treaty for the final settlement of the tranquillity of these invaluable provinces, by a removal of the unhappy causes of this ruinous civil war; and by a just and adequate security against the return of the like calamities in times to come. And this House desire

meeting of several Lords and some members of the House of Commons. The particular business

to offer the most dutiful assurances to his Majesty that they will in due time cheerfully co-operate with the magnanimity and tender goodness of his Majesty for the preservation of his people, by such explicit and most solemn declarations, and provisions of fundamental and irrevocable laws, as may be judged necessary for the ascertaining and fixing for ever the respective rights of Great Britain and her colonies.’”

In the course of the debate, Lord Suffolk undertook to defend the employment of the Indians in the war. His Lordship contended, that, besides its *policy* and *necessity*, the measure was also allowable on *principle*; for that “it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means that *God and nature put into our hands*.” Upon this,—

The Earl of Chatham again rose and said:—“I am astonished!” exclaimed he, “shocked! to hear such principles confessed—to hear them avowed in this House, or in this country:—principles equally unconstitutional, inhuman, and unchristian! My Lords, I did not intend to have encroached again upon your attention; but I cannot repress my indignation—I feel myself impelled by every duty. My Lords, we are called upon as members of this House, as men, as Christian men, to protest against such notions standing near the throne, polluting the ear of Majesty. ‘That God and nature put into our hands!’ I know not what ideas that lord may entertain of God and nature: but I know that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity.—What! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife—to the cannibal savage torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating; literally, my Lords, *eating* the mangled victims of his barbarous battles! Such horrible notions shock every precept of religion, divine or natural, and every generous feeling of humanity. And, my Lords, they shock every sentiment of honour; they shock me as a lover of honourable war, and a detester of murderous barbarity.

“These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that *right reverend* Bench, those holy ministers of the Gospel, and pious pastors of our church; I conjure them to join in the holy work, and vindicate the religion of their God: I appeal to the wisdom and the law of *this learned* Bench to defend and support the justice of their country: I call upon the bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn; upon the learned judges to interpose the purity of their ermine, to save us from this pollution:—I call upon the honour of your Lordships, to reverence the dignity of your ancestors; and to maintain your own:—

was to consider, whether a motion should *now* be made to fix a day (the 2d of February) for taking the state of the nation into consideration, in both Houses, and then to follow it up (if the committee was granted) with motions for papers, &c. ; or whether

I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character : — I invoke the genius of the constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble Lord* frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country. In vain he led your victorious fleets against the boasted Armada of Spain ; in vain he defended and established the honour, the liberties, the religion, the *Protestant religion*, of this country, against the arbitrary cruelties of Popery and the Inquisition, if these more than popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are let loose among us ; to turn forth into our settlements among our ancient connections, friends, and relations, the merciless cannibal, thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and child ! to send forth the infidel savage—against whom ? against your Protestant brethren ; to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name, with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war ! — *hell-hounds, I say of savage war !* Spain armed herself with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of America ; and we improve on the inhuman example even of Spanish cruelty ; we turn loose these savage hell-hounds against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties, and religion ; endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity.

“ My Lords, this awful subject, so important to our honour, our constitution, and our religion, demands the most solemn and effectual inquiry. And I again call upon your Lordships, and the united powers of the state, to examine it thoroughly and decisively, and to stamp upon it an indelible stigma of the public abhorrence. And I again implore those holy prelates of our religion, to do away these iniquities from among us. Let them perform a lustration ; let them purify this House and this country from this sin.

“ My Lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more ; but my feelings and indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my head on my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such preposterous and enormous principles.”

The amendment was rejected by ninety-seven against twenty-eight.

* See *antè*, p. 55.

it might not be sufficient for notice to be given in both Houses, (and to desire formal summonses for the one House, and a call of the other,) that upon the 2d day of February the motion would be made for a committee on the state of the nation; or whether no immediate step should now be taken in this business.

The Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Grafton, Mr. Charles Fox, and several others, were very desirous of the first mode of proceeding being adopted; Lord Camden and others were not inclined to this mode, as thinking it would require, in its consequences, more strict attendance in London at the time, than they could engage for. Lord Shelburne was not decidedly anxious either way, but wished that your Lordship would consider the proposition and give us your judgment.

It was urged by some, that if no proceeding on the business commenced immediately, the public at large might think we were remiss; that they might suppose we were waiting for the news of events in America; and that if they should be what the ministers would call bad news, our activity would then lose the good grace it would have had, if we had proceeded firmly during the present state of suspense.

It was agreed on all sides, that the actual going into the committee could not take place till about the 2d of February, but it was urged, that if the motion was made and the committee granted, the moving *now* for various papers would accelerate

the business when the committee met after the holydays.

The Duke of Richmond objects particularly to any notice being given, unless immediately followed up with motions for papers, &c. The House of Lords sits to-day, and will probably sit to-morrow. If the motion is to be made, it is thought it would be proper that the House should be apprized to-morrow that a motion would be made on Monday. Lord Camden will, I trust, by this time have seen your Lordship, and have stated the matter more fully. It is hoped that your Lordship's state of health continues good, and if any thing is to be done, that you will be able to give your assistance.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROCKINGHAM.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

November 27, 1777.

MY DEAR LORD,

IT may be material to inform you, that every thing relative to the navy has been granted in the House of Commons, even the weekly account, which never was granted except to the House of Lords once in King William's war. As to the rest, the Duke of Richmond is very earnestly occupied about a vast variety of motions. I will only venture to submit to your Lordship, that as these

are generally numerous, and consequently vague and inconclusive for the most part, it were much to be wished that your Lordship would be so good as to consider how to point them. It is much wanted ; and I must do every one the justice to say it is equally desired ; for my part, it is my own opinion that the crisis is so desperate that it is almost indifferent what is done, except that it is more agreeable to individuals to pursue any distinct object.

I am, &c.

SHELBURNE.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Friday evening, near 8 o'clock,
November 28, 1777.

MY LORD,

I HAD the honour to receive your Lordship's letter last night. I shall only now say, that it gave me very real satisfaction, and that I most entirely concur with your Lordship in the sentiments and opinions you have expressed. I was as expeditious as I could be this morning in informing and communicating to the Lords and to the members of the House of Commons who had met here yesterday, the answer which your Lordship had sent. I have had the pleasure of seeing almost all of them

this morning, and also of finding a most general desire, inclination, and readiness, to proceed in the manner as approved by your Lordship. The Duke of Richmond has accordingly given notice to-day, that a motion will be made on Tuesday (the christening ⁽¹⁾ at St. James's being on Monday), and has desired that the House may be summoned.

There will be a meeting at the Duke of Richmond's this evening, in order to consider what papers and accounts it will be necessary to move for, particularly relative to the expenses of both blood and treasure in army and navy, occasioned by this horrid war.

It is intended that there should be a meeting on Sunday evening at the Duke of Richmond's. The Duke of Grafton, Lord Shelburne, and some other lords, and some of the members of the House of Commons will meet there ; so that, by degrees, matters preparatory to the business will get into some forwardness. Every sort of information which can be had from authentic papers may, in the course of this business, be required from ministers ; and it is not at all material in what course they are asked for, provided the caution is observed which your Lordship so judiciously suggests. The rise, the progress, the cause of continuation, and the secret springs which have brought on the calamities, all may, and I think should, become the material objects of this business.

I imagine the ministers will not refuse the

(1) Of the Princess Sophia, born on the 3d of November.

motion, but nevertheless some debate will arise. It is wished and hoped, that all who are able will attend. Indeed, nothing can be more important than that concert and union should appear, and, if I may use the expression, become consolidated by joint labours.

I hope Lord Camden will be able to stay at least for Tuesday. I rejoice that your Lordship was able to favour me, in your own handwriting, but I would beg you would not put yourself to any inconvenience on that account, as I shall be much honoured by having your sentiments from the pen of any of the young and trusty secretaries which your Lordship has the happiness to have around you. Your Lordship's presence at the opening of this business in the House of Lords will, I trust, not be prevented by any unhappy return of fever or gout. I have, &c.

ROCKINGHAM.⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ On the 2d of December, the Duke of Richmond moved for the returns of the army and navy in Ireland and America. Upon this occasion, —

The Earl of Chatham said : — “ My Lord, I most cheerfully testify my approbation of the motions now made by the noble Duke ; and am firmly persuaded that they have originated in the most exalted motives ; nor am I less pleased with the very candid reception they have met with from your Lordships. I think they will draw forth a great mass of useful information ; but as to those respecting the state of our military strength, there appears something yet wanting to render them complete. Nothing has been offered which may lead to inform us of the actual state of the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, those two very important fortresses, which have hitherto enabled us to maintain our superiority in the Mediterranean, and one of them (Gibraltar) situated on the very continent of Spain, the best proof of our naval power, and the only solid check on that of the House of Bourbon ; yet those two

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

December 4, 1777.

MY DEAR LORD,

It may be material to your Lordship to know what passed in the House of Commons yesterday ;

important fortresses are left to chance, and the pacific dispositions of France and Spain as the only protection ; we hold them but by sufferance. I know them to be in a defenceless state. None of your Lordships are ignorant that we lost Mahon at the commencement of the last war. It was indeed a fatal disaster, as it exposed the trade and commerce of the Mediterranean to the ravages of our inveterate and then powerful enemies. My Lords, such was the light the acquisition of that fortress was looked upon when it was first taken, that the Duke of Marlborough, who was no great penman, but who employed a secretary to draw up his despatches, in answer to the letter from the able general and consummate statesman who conquered it, (the father of my noble relation now in my eye, Earl Stanhope,) trusted the despatch to the secretary, but added a postscript in his own handwriting, where he recommended particularly to the victorious general, to by no means neglect putting that fortress in the best possible state of defence, and to garrison it with natives, and not foreigners. When I had the honour, soon after it fell into the hands of the French, to be called into the councils of the late King, I never lost sight of that circumstance. Gibraltar still remained in our hands : and the war in Germany, which Parliament thought fit to engage in, and bind themselves to, before I came into office ; though we were carrying on the most extensive operations in America ; though the coast of Africa, and the West India islands, required a suitable force to protect them ; and though these kingdoms called for a proportionate army, not only to act defensively, but offensively on the coast of our enemies ; notwithstanding all those pressing services, my Lords, having the counsel of that great man constantly in view, it determined me, that whatever demands, or how much soever such troops might be wanting elsewhere, that Gibraltar should never want a full and adequate defence. I never had, my Lords, less than eight battalions to defend it. I think a battalion was then about eight hundred strong. So that, my Lords, I affirm that Gibraltar was never trusted to a garrison of less than six thousand men. My

and I flatter myself, that you will excuse my doing so in a very hasty manner. Colonel Barré tells me,

Lords, this force was, as it were, locked up in that fortress during the whole of the late war ; nor could any appearance of the most urgent necessity induce me to weaken it. My Lords, I know that the very weak and defenceless state of these islands does not seem to admit of any troops being spared from the home defence ; but, my Lords, give me leave to say, that whatever reluctance or disgust there may have appeared in several veteran and able generals to the service where the tomahawk and scalping-knife were to be the warlike instruments employed as the engines of destruction, I am convinced there are many, some of whom I have in my eye, who would, with ardour and alacrity, accept of any command where the true honour, interest, and safety of their country were concerned. My Lords, the moment is arrived when this spirit should be exerted. Gibraltar is garrisoned by Hanoverians. I am told, if any accident should happen to the present commanding officer there, that the care of the fortress, and the command of the troops, would devolve on a foreigner. I do not recollect his name, but this is my information ; and if I do not hear it contradicted, I must take it for granted. I am well authorized to say, my Lords, that such is the present defenceless state of Gibraltar, that there is not a second relief in case of an attack ; not men sufficient to man the works, while those fatigued with service and watching go to refresh, eat, or sleep ; though Germany and the wilds of America have been ransacked for the purpose.

“ My Lords, we should not want men in a good cause ; and nothing ought to be left untried to procure them. I remember, soon after the period I shall take the liberty to remind your Lordships of, after an unnatural rebellion had been extinguished in the northern part of this island, men not fighting for liberty, or the constitution of their country, but professedly to annihilate both, as advocates for popery, slavery, and arbitrary power ; not like our brethren in America, Whigs in principle, and heroes in conduct : I remember, I say, my Lords, that I employed these very rebels in the service and defence of their country. They were reclaimed by this means ; they fought our battles ; they cheerfully bled in defence of those liberties which they attempted to overthrow but a few years before. What, then, does your Lordships imagine would be the effect of a similar conduct towards the Whigs and freemen of America, whom you call rebels ? Would it not, think you, operate in like manner ? They would fight your battles ; they would cheerfully bleed for you ; they would render you superior to all your foreign enemies ; they would bear your arms triumphant to every quarter of the globe. You have, I fear, lost the affection, the good will of this people, by employing mercenary Germans to butcher them ; by spiriting up the savages of America to scalp them with a tomahawk. My Lords,

that the language of the ministers was, that this capitulation of Burgoyne's was a calamity, but that,

I would have you consider, should this war be pushed to extremities, the possible consequences. It is no farther from America to England than from England to America. If conquest is to be the issue, we must trust to that issue, and fairly abide by it.

"The noble Earl at the head of the Admiralty, the last night I had the honour to address your Lordships, contradicted me when I asserted we had not above twenty ships of the line fit to proceed to sea (on actual service) at a short warning. I again repeat the assertion, though I gave it up at that time, on account of the plausibility and confidence with which the fact was asserted. I now say, there are not above twenty ships of the line on which any naval officer of eminence and skill in his profession would stake his credit. The noble Earl in office said there were thirty-five ships of the line fit for sea; but acknowledged that there was a deficiency of near three thousand of the complements necessary to proceed upon actual service. How did the noble Earl propose to fill up that deficiency?—By supernumeraries, by transfers, by recruits, &c. Will the noble Earl say that twenty-one thousand is a full war complement for thirty-five ships of the line? or will he undertake to assure this House (even allowing for those odds and ends) that the ships will be properly manned by the numbers now actually on board? But if every particular fact stated by the noble Earl be precisely as he would persuade your Lordships to believe, will his Lordship pretend to affirm that thirty-five ships of the line, or even forty-two (the highest number that his Lordship ventured to affirm) would, in case of rupture with the House of Bourbon, be sufficient for all the purposes of offence, defence, and protection? I am sure his Lordship will not. A fleet in the Channel; one in the Western sea; another in the West Indies; and one in the Mediterranean; besides convoys and cruizers, to protect our commerce and annoy our enemies. I say, my Lords, that thirty-five ships of the line would be necessary for the protection of our trade and fortresses in the Mediterranean alone. We must be equal to the combined force of France and Spain in that sea, or we need not send a single ship there. Ships must be stationed to command respect from the powers on the coast of Barbary, and to prevent their piracies on our merchant vessels. We must have a superior fleet in the Western sea likewise, and we must have one in the Channel equal to the defence of our own coast.

"These were the ideas which prevailed when I had the honour of assisting in the British councils, and at all other preceding periods of naval hostility since the Revolution. My Lords, if Lord Anson was capable of the high office the noble Earl now presides in, the noble Earl is certainly mistaken in saying that thirty-five or fifty-five ships

be it ever so great a one, it was only a reason for our making more efforts to continue the war, and vindicate the honour, rights, &c. of this country.⁽¹⁾ Mr. Fox moved for the instructions to Generals Howe and Burgoyne, as far as they related to the co-operation of the two armies. The previous question was moved, and there was no division. The ministers at first seemed inclined to give way, but at last sheltered themselves under the want of official confirmation of the fact, promising (though darkly, and with some appearance of intended chicanery,) that they would grant the papers when the official account arrived.

I own I very much doubt whether confining the

of the line are equal to the several services now enumerated. That great naval commander gave in a list, at one time, of eighty-four thousand seamen actually on the books. It is well worthy your Lordships' inquiry to know what are the present number. The motion made by the noble Duke leads to that inquiry, and meets my warmest approbation; but that we may have every necessary information, I recommend to my noble friend to amend his motion by extending it to Gibraltar and Mahon. I do not wish to have any thing disclosed at present which may tend to expose the weak state of those fortresses; but I think it incumbent on your Lordships to learn their strength, in point of numbers of men; and to know how the fact stands, relative to the possibility of the command of Gibraltar devolving on a foreigner, in case of any accident happening to the officer who now commands there."

The motion was agreed to.

(1) In a note to Lord Chatham, dated Dec. 3d, p.m., one o'clock, the Marquis of Rockingham writes: — "A gentleman from the city this moment assures me that the Warwick man-of-war arrived last night, and brings an account that General Burgoyne's army have been obliged to surrender, and that they are to be marched to Boston, and from thence to be sent to England, and not to serve against America during this war. I trust it is true — a good reinforcement for the garrison at Gibraltar. Arnold is said to be killed; which is some drawback."

inquiry to the mere point of co-operation will not cover a great deal of exceptionable and culpable matter ; at least I may tell your Lordship, and to you only in the utmost confidence, that the instructions I alluded to the first day were sent to Sir Guy Carleton, and would, I am sure, notwithstanding what Lord Suffolk took upon him to say, expose those that sent them as they deserve. (1) Colonel Barré says the House was full and attentive.

Lord Rockingham has called here, while I have been writing, with the Dukes of Richmond and Manchester. Lord Rockingham will tell your Lordship their sentiments. It does not appear that you will have a good attendance ; at the same time, I own I continue to think that some motion of an animated nature is no more than the duty of men, who think as your Lordship and all of us profess to do.

Most truly yours,

SHELburne.

(1) In the debate on the address upon the 18th of November, Lord Shelburne, after stating General Carleton's opinions, with regard to the practicability of certain military operations, in which he was said to have disapproved of the plans proposed by ministers, added, that "this gentleman was still guilty of a much greater offence against his employers: he reprobated the idea, and shrunk with horror from the proposition, of employing savages." It was upon this occasion that Lord Suffolk made the assertion, that "we were fully justified in using every means which God and nature had put into our hands," and subsequently, with reference to what had fallen from Lord Shelburne, denied that there had been "any objection, on the part of General Carleton, to obey the instructions he had received from hence."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Thursday, p. m. 4 o'clock,
December 4, 1777.

MY LORD,

I HAD the honour to receive your Lordship's letter last night. I have now seen the Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Manchester, and we went together to Lord Shelburne. A motion for Burgoyne's instructions meets with all our concurrence, and we hope your Lordship's health will enable you to come to London to-morrow to make it. We must, indeed, content ourselves with a thin attendance: the Duke of Grafton and several other lords were out of town before the news arrived. Lord Camden was in town last night, and I communicated your Lordship's letter to him; but his journey was so fixed, that he was obliged to set out this morning. I must also add, that his Lordship's opinion seems to be, that we should be cautious, and not have the appearance of proceeding too rapidly, but to let both parliament and the public have a moment's time for their own feelings and judgment to operate, and evince the melancholy situation they have been drawn into. In this opinion, I find several of both Houses of parliament. The impossibility, indeed, of proceeding at this time, *de die in diem*, is evident. I find in the House of Commons, that the motion for Bur-

goyne's instructions was made, and refused, by the previous question.

I think we should rather avoid the appearance of either exulting or insulting. A manly, firm conduct, a marked decision amongst us to point out how the public and parliament have been deceived and misled, seems to me a very direct line. The events alone will, must, and perhaps have, opened the eyes of many, and will do it every day more and more. If, unfortunately, your Lordship should be prevented from coming to-morrow and making the motion, I should be glad to know whether you would wish to have it made or delayed. I think to-morrow is, in every respect, better than delay; and that a long adjournment of parliament should be reprobated.⁽¹⁾

I have the honour, &c.

ROCKINGHAM.

(¹) In the House of Lords, on the 5th of December, —

The Earl of *Chatham* spoke to the following effect:—"His Lordship began with remarking, that the King's speech at the opening of the session conveyed a general information of the measures intended to be pursued, and looked forward to the probable occurrences which might be supposed to happen and affect the great bodies to whom it was addressed, and of course the nation at large, who were finally interested. He had the last speech from the throne now in his hand, and a deep sense of the public calamity in his heart. They would both co-operate to enforce and justify the measure he meant to propose. He was sorry to say the speech contained a very unfaithful picture of the state of public affairs. This assertion was unquestionable; not a noble lord in administration would dare rise, and even so much as controvert the fact. The speech held out a specious outside—was full of hopes; yet it was manifest that every thing within and without, foreign and domestic, was full of danger, and calculated to inspire the most melancholy forebodings. He hoped that this sudden call for their Lordships' attention would be imputed to its true motive, a desire of obtaining their assistance in such

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Thursday, p. m. one o'clock,
December 9, 1777.

MY LORD,

I FIND that his Majesty is to come to the House of Lords to-morrow, and that the House is to meet

a season of difficulty and danger ; a season in which, he would be bold to maintain, a single moment was not to be lost. It was customary, he said, for that House to offer an address of condolence to his Majesty upon any public misfortune, as well as one of congratulation on any public success. If this was the usage of Parliament, he never recollected a period at which such an address became more seasonable or necessary than at present. If what was acknowledged in the other House was true, he was astonished that some public notice was not taken of the sad, the melancholy disaster. The report was, the fact was acknowledged by persons in high authority, that General Burgoyne and his army were surrounded, and obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war to the provincials. He should take the account of this calamitous event, as now stated, and argue upon it as a matter universally allowed to be true.

“ He then lamented the fate of Mr. Burgoyne in the most pathetic terms ; and said, that that gentleman’s character, the glory of the British arms, and the dearest interests of this undone, disgraced country, had been all sacrificed to the ignorance, temerity, and incapacity of ministers. Appearances, he observed, were indeed dreadful ; he was not sufficiently informed to decide on the extent of the numerous evils with which we were surrounded, but they were clearly sufficient to give just cause of alarm to the most confident or callous heart. He spoke with great candour of General Burgoyne ; he might, or might not, be an able officer ; but by every thing he could learn, his fate was not proportionate to his merit : he might have received orders it was not in his power to execute. Neither should he condemn ministers ; they might have instructed him wisely ; he might have executed his instructions faithfully and judiciously, and yet he might have miscarried. There are many events which the greatest human foresight cannot provide against ; it was on that ground, therefore, he meant to frame his motion. The fact was acknowledged : the general had miscarried : it might not have been his fault ; it might not be that of his employers or instructors. To know

again on Thursday ; on which day the adjournment will be moved. I had the pleasure of seeing

where the fault lay, he was desirous of having the orders given to General Burgoyne laid before the House. So much of the plan at home had, however, transpired, as justified him in affirming that the measures were founded in weakness, barbarity, and inhumanity. Savages had been employed to carry ruin and devastation among our subjects in America. The tomahawk and scalping-knife were put into the hands of the most brutal and ferocious of the human species. Was this honourable war ? Was it the means which God and nature [alluding to what had fallen from Lord Suffolk on the opening of the session, see p. 458.] put into the hands of Englishmen to assert their rights over our colonies, and to procure their obedience, and conciliate their affection ?

“ His Lordship spoke in the most pointed terms of the system introduced within the last fifteen years at St. James’s, of breaking all connection, of extinguishing all principle. A few men had got an ascendancy where no man should have a personal ascendancy ; by the executive powers of the state being at their command, they had been furnished with the means of creating divisions. This brought pliable men, not capable men, into the highest and most responsible situations ; and to such men was the government of this once glorious empire now entrusted. The spirit of delusion had gone forth : the ministers had imposed on the people ; parliament had been induced to sanctify the imposition ; false lights had been held out to the country gentlemen : they had been seduced into the support of a most destructive war, under the impression that the land-tax would be diminished, by the means of an American revenue. The visionary phantom, thus conjured up for the basest of all purposes, that of deception, was now about to vanish. He condemned the contents of the speech in the bitterest terms of reproach. He said it abounded with absurdity and contradiction. In one part it recommended vigorous measures, pointing to conquest, or unconditional submission ; while in another, it pretended to say, that peace was the real object, as soon as the deluded multitude should return to their allegiance. This, his Lordship contended, was the grossest and most insolent delusion. It was by this strange mixture of firmness and pretended candour, of cruelty and mercy, justice and iniquity, that this infatuated nation had been all along misled.

“ His Lordship returned to the situation of General Burgoyne, and paid him, indeed, very high compliments. He said, his abilities were confessed ; his personal bravery not surpassed ; his zeal in the service unquestionable. He had experienced no pestilence, nor suffered any of the accidents which sometimes superseded the most wise and spirited exertions of human industry. What, then, said his Lordship, is the

the Duke of Richmond and Lord Shelburne, and also the Dukes of Portland and Manchester, and,

great cause of his misfortune? Want of wisdom in our council, want of ability in our ministers. His Lordship laid the whole blame on ministers : it was their duty to shield that ill-treated officer from the temporary obloquy he must suffer under, till he had an opportunity to justify himself in person. His motion bore no personal relation to the conduct of that able but abused officer ; it was meant to be solely pointed to draw forth those instructions, which were the cause of his defeat and captivity. General Burgoyne was subject to the events of war ; so was every other man who bore a command in time of war ; for his part, when he was in office, he never attempted to cover his own incapacity, by throwing the blame on others ; on the contrary, he gave them every support and becoming countenance in his power.

“ His Lordship condemned the plan of operations, which he insisted was sent from hence, that of penetrating into the colonies from Canada. It was a most wild, uncombined, and mad project ; it was full of difficulty ; and though success had declared in our favour, would have been a wanton waste of blood and treasure. He next animadverted upon the mode of carrying on the war, which he said was the most bloody, barbarous, and ferocious recorded in the annals of mankind. He contrasted the fame and renown we gained in the last war, with the defeats and disgraces of the present. Then we arrived at the highest pinnacle of glory ; now we had sullied and tarnished the arms of Britain for ever, by employing savages in our service, by drawing them up in a British line, and mixing the scalping-knife and tomahawk with the sword and firelock. The horror he felt was so great, that, had it fallen to his lot to serve in an army where such cruelty was permitted, he believed, in his conscience, he would sooner have mutinied than consent to serve with such barbarians. Such a mode of warfare was, in his opinion, a contamination, a pollution, of our national character ; a stigma which all the water of the rivers Delaware and Hudson would never wash away : it would rankle in the breast of America, and sink so deep into it, that he was almost certain they would never forget nor forgive the horrid injury.

“ His Lordship observed, that similar instructions relative to the Indians had been imputed to him. He disclaimed the least recollection of having given any such instructions ; and in order to ascertain the matter, so as to remove any ground of future altercation on the subject, he called upon the administration to produce the orders, if any such had been given. We had, he said, swept every corner of Germany for men : we had searched the darkest wilds of America for the scalping-knife ; but those bloody measures being as weak as they were wicked, he recommended, that instant orders might be sent to call home the first, and

indeed, several of the few lords who are still in London, yesterday. It is the opinion and the

disband the other — indeed, to withdraw our troops entirely ; for peace, he was certain, would never be effected, as long as the German bayonet and Indian scalping-knife were threatened to be buried in the bowels of our American brethren. Such an expectation was foolish, absurd, mad. The colonies must consider us as friends, before they will ever consent to treat with us : a formal acknowledgment of our errors, and a renunciation of our unjust, ill-founded, and oppressive claims, must precede every the least attempt to conciliate. He declared himself an avowed enemy to American independency : he was a Whig ; and though he utterly, from his heart, abhorred the system of government attempted to be carried into execution in America, he as earnestly and zealously contended for a Whig government and a Whig connection between both countries, founded in a constitutional dependence and subordination.

“ His Lordship recurred to the melancholy, momentous situation of public affairs in general. He said, America was lost, even by the accounts which administration in the Gazette had thought proper to impart. General Washington proved himself three times an abler general than Sir William Howe ; for, with a force much inferior in number, and infinitely inferior in every other respect, as asserted from an authority not to be questioned [Lord G. Germain], he had been able to baffle every attempt of ours, and left us in such a situation, that, if not assisted by our fleet, our troops in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia must probably share the same unhappy fate with those under General Burgoyne. He condemned the motives and the conduct of the war in terms the most pointed and energetic ; and compared the situation of this country to that brought on his dominions by the Duke of Burgundy, surnamed the Bold : — a prince of the House of Savoy had his property seized by the former ; the injured prince would not submit ; war was determined on ; and the object strongly resembled the paltry pretence on which we had armed, and had carried fire, sword, and devastation through every corner of America. The seizure was about a cargo of skins ; he would have them, but the Prince of Saumur would not submit. The Duke was conjured not to go to war, but he persisted : ‘ he was determined steadily to pursue the same measures ;’ he marched against ‘ the deluded multitude* ;’ but at last gave one instance of his magnanimity, by imputing his misfortunes to his own obstinacy ; ‘ because,’ said he, ‘ this was owing to my not submitting to be well advised.’ The case of the Duke of Burgundy was applicable to England : ministers had undertaken a rash enterprise, without wisdom to plan, or ability to execute.

“ What had occasioned, since last war, the rise in the value of English estates ? America, which he now feared was for ever lost. She

* Expressions in the King’s speech.

desire of all of them, that the ministry's intention of a long adjournment should be opposed.

had been the great support of this country ; she had produced millions ; she afforded soldiers and sailors ; she had given our manufacturers employment, and enriched our merchants. The gentlemen of landed property would probably feel this ; for when commerce fails — when new burdens are incurred — when the means by which those burdens were lightened are no more — the land-owner will feel the double pressure of heavy taxes ; he will find them doubled in the first instance, and his rents proportionably decreased. But, for what had we sacrificed all those advantages ? — The pursuit of a *pepper-corn* ! * And how did we treat America ? — Petitions rejected — complaints unanswered — dutiful representations treated with contempt — an attempt to establish despotism on the ruins of constitutional liberty — measures to enforce taxation by the point of the sword. Ministers had insidiously betrayed us into a war ; and what were its fruits ? Let the sad catastrophe which had befallen Mr. Burgoyne speak the success.

“ In the course of his speech he adverted to the language and Tory doctrine held in print, and in that House, by a most reverend prelate † ; and, he trusted, he should yet see the day when those pernicious doctrines would be deemed libellous, and treated as such. They were the doctrines of Atterbury and Sacheverel. As a Whig, he should never endure them ; and, he doubted not, the author or authors would suffer that degree of censure and punishment which they so justly deserved. — After recommending measures of peace instead of measures of blood, and promising to co-operate in every proposition calculated to put a stop to the effusion of the one, and to promote the other, his Lordship moved, ‘ That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly beseeching his Majesty that he will be graciously pleased to order the proper officers to lay before this House copies of all orders and instructions to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, relative to that part of his Majesty’s forces in America under his command.’ ”

The motion was negatived by forty to nineteen ; after which Lord Chatham moved for copies of all instructions relative to the employment of Indians in conjunction with the British troops against the inhabitants of the British colonies in North America. Lord Gower opposed the motion, and asserted that the noble Lord had himself employed savages in the operations of the last war. Lord Chatham denied that Indians had ever been employed by him ; they might, he said, have crept into the

* See Vol. II. p. 364.

† Dr. Markham, Archbishop of York. See Parliamentary History, vol. xix. p. 348.

It is imagined, that the intention is to adjourn till the 20th of January. Some have thought that

service, from the utility which the officers found in them when they were engaged in some particular enterprizes in unexplored places. Lord Amherst, on being appealed to by Lord Chatham, owned, that Indians had been employed on both sides; the French employed them first, and we followed the example. The motion was rejected.*

* The Instructions were afterwards supplied to Lord Chatham; by which it appeared, that Major-General Amherst had been desired by Mr. Pitt "to cultivate the best harmony and friendship possible with the several governors of our colonies and provinces, and likewise with the chiefs of the Indian tribes;" also to keep a constant correspondence with the Indians, and to endeavour "to engage them to take part and act with our forces in all operations, as he should judge most expedient." The indignation of Lord Chatham was called forth by what he considered the inhumanity of Lord Suffolk, in justifying the employment of the Indians, with all the savage cruelty of the tomahawk and scalping knife, against the Americans, his fellow-subjects. Lord Chatham admitted, that he knew the Indians, had been engaged, in a former war, under his administration; but denied that any act, on his part, had ever authorized their being employed, except for the necessary purposes of war. In fact, they had been chiefly made use of to convey intelligence of the enemy's movements; for which service their sagacity and accurate knowledge of the country especially qualified them. Lord Townshend, who, on the death of Wolfe, had succeeded to the command of the army at Quebec, said, "The case was this, M. de Montcalm employed them early in the war, which put us under the necessity of doing the same; but they were never employed in the army under his command, but in assisting the troops in the laborious services necessarily attending an army: they were never under military command, nor arrayed for military purposes."

In an elaborate despatch from Sir William Johnson, dated October 24, 1760, in which he details his personal services, and expresses a desire to be relieved from his fatiguing duties, as agent and superintendent of the northern Indians, he says, "After General Prideaux's death, the command devolving on me, I did my utmost to employ the Indians in *gaining me such intelligence* as was of the greatest service, having prevented our being surprized; the consequence of which was, the fort of Niagara capitulated." And again, after stating that the intrigues of the French had caused many of the Indians to leave, he adds, "There still remained enough to answer our purpose and *bring us constant intelligence.*" And Mr. Pitt, addressing General Amherst on the same day, desires him "to acquaint his Majesty's faithful Indian allies, under Sir William Johnson, with the just sense the King has of the spirit and perseverance they have exerted on all occasions in his service; and that his Majesty has learnt with sensible pleasure, that by the good order kept by Sir William Johnson among the Indians, *no act of cruelty has stained the lustre of the British arms.*"

a longer adjournment would be moved for ; but I rather believe it has only been whispered about, in order that the adjournment to the 20th of January should not appear so long, as it really is, when the critical state of this nation is fairly considered. I make no doubt, that resisting a long adjournment will meet with your Lordship's approbation, and it would be exceedingly desirable, that your Lordship could be present.⁽¹⁾ I think every thing

(1) Lord Chatham was present in the House of Lords on the 11th of December; when the Earl of Oxford moved, that the House should adjourn to the 20th of January. The following is the only report of his Lordship's speech upon this occasion that has been preserved : —

The Earl of *Chatham* said, — “ My Lords it is not with less grief, than astonishment, that I hear the motion now made by the noble Earl, at a time when the affairs of this country present, on every side, prospects of awe, terror, and impending danger; when, I will be bold to say, events of a most alarming tendency, little expected or foreseen, will shortly happen; when a cloud, that may crush this nation, and bury it in destruction for ever, is ready to burst and overwhelm us. At so tremendous a season, it does not become your Lordships, the great hereditary council of the nation, to neglect your duty; to retire to your country-seats for six weeks, in quest of joy and merriment, while the real state of public affairs calls for grief, mourning, and lamentation, at least, for the fullest exertions of your wisdom. It is your duty, my Lords, as the grand hereditary council of the nation, to advise your sovereign — to be the protectors of your country — to feel your own weight and authority. As hereditary counsellors, as members of this House, you stand between the crown and the people; you are nearer the throne than the other branch of the legislature, it is your duty to supplicate and counsel, to surround and protect it: you hold the balance, it is your duty to see that the weights are properly poised, that the balance remains even, that neither may encroach on the other; and that the executive power may be prevented, by an unconstitutional exertion of even constitutional authority, from bringing the nation to destruction.

“ My Lords, I fear we are arrived at the very brink of that state; and I am persuaded, that nothing short of a spirited interposition on your part, in giving speedy and wholesome advice to your sovereign,

which tends to fix blame and censure on those who direct both King and parliament should not be omitted.

I have, &c.

ROCKINGHAM.

can prevent the people from feeling beyond remedy the full effects of that ruin which ministers have brought upon us. These are the calamitous circumstances : ministers have been the cause of them ; and shall we, in such a state of things, when every moment teems with events productive of the most fatal narratives — shall we trust, during an adjournment of six weeks, to those men who have brought those calamities upon us, when, perhaps, our utter overthrow is plotting, nay, ripe for execution, without almost a possibility of prevention ? Ten thousand brave men have fallen victims to ignorance and rashness. The only army you have in America may, by this time, be no more. This very nation remains safe no longer than its enemies think proper to permit. I do not augur ill. Events of a most critical nature may take place before our next meeting. Will your Lordships, then, in such a state of things, trust to the guidance of men, who, in every single step of this cruel, this wicked war, from the very beginning, have proved themselves weak, ignorant, and mistaken ? I will not say, my Lords, nor do I mean any thing personal, or that they have brought premeditated ruin on this country. I will not suppose that they foresaw what has since happened : but I do contend, that their guilt, (I will not even suppose it guilt, but their want of wisdom,) their incapacity, their temerity in depending on their own judgment, or their base compliances with the orders and dictates of others, perhaps caused by the influence of one or two individuals, have rendered them totally unworthy of your Lordships' confidence, of the confidence of parliament, and of those of whose rights they are the constitutional guardians—the people at large. A remonstrance, my Lords, should be carried to the throne. The King has been deluded by his ministers. Either they have been imposed upon by false information, or, from motives best known to themselves, have given apparent credit to what they were convinced in their hearts was untrue. The nation has been betrayed into the ruinous measure of an American war, by the arts of imposition, by its own credulity, through the means of false hopes, false pride, and promised advantages, of the most romantic and improbable nature.

“ My Lords, I do not wish to call your attention entirely to that point. I would fairly appeal to your own sentiments, whether I can be justly charged with arrogance or presumption, if I said, great and able as ministers think themselves, that all the wisdom of the nation is

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Tuesday morning, December 23, 1777.

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM as entirely of your Lordship's opinion, as to not subscribing to the independence of the colonies,

confined to the narrow circle of the petty cabinet. I might, I think without presumption, say, that your Lordships, as one of the branches of the legislature, may be as capable of advising your sovereign, in the moment of difficulty and danger, as any lesser council, composed of a fewer number ; and who, being already so fatally trusted, have betrayed a want of honesty, or a want of abilities. Is it, my Lords, within the utmost stretch of the most sanguine expectation, that the same men who have plunged you into your present perilous situation are the proper persons to rescue you from it? No, my Lords, such an expectation would be preposterous and absurd. I say, you are now specially called upon to interpose. It is your duty to forego every call of business and pleasure ; to give up your whole time to inquire into past misconduct ; to provide remedies for the present ; to prevent future evils ; to rest on your arms, if I may use the expression, to watch for the public safety ; to defend and support the throne ; or, if fate should so ordain it, to fall with becoming fortitude with the rest of your fellow-subjects in the general ruin. I fear the last alternative must be the event of this mad, unjust, and cruel war. It is your Lordships, duty to do every thing in your power that it shall not ; but, if it must be so, I trust your Lordships and the nation will fall gloriously.

“ My Lords, as the first and most immediate object of your inquiry, I would recommend to you to consider the true state of our home-defence. We have heard much from a noble lord in this House of the state of our navy. I cannot give an implicit belief to what I have heard on that important subject. I still retain my former opinion relative to the number of line of battle-ships ; but as an inquiry into the real state of the navy is destined to be the subject of a future consideration, I do not wish to hear more about it till that period arrives. I allow, in argument, that we have thirty-five ships of the line fit for actual service. I doubt much whether such a force would give us a full command of the Channel. I am certain, if it did, every other part of our possessions must lie naked and defenceless, in every quarter of the

as any one can be who does not choose to bind his future life in, I am sorry to say it, the desperate

globe. I fear our utter destruction is at hand. [Here, and in many other parts of his speech, his Lordship broadly hinted, that the House of Bourbon was meditating some important and decisive blow near home.] What, my Lords, is the state of our military defence? I would not wish to expose our present weakness; but weak as we are, if this war should be continued, as the public declaration of persons in high confidence with their sovereign would induce us to suppose, is this nation to be entirely stripped? And if it should, would every soldier now in Britain be sufficient to give us an equality to the force in America? I will maintain they would not. Where, then, will men be procured? Recruits are not to be had in this country. Germany will give no more. I have read in the newspapers of this day, and I have reason to believe it true, that the head of the Germanic body has remonstrated against it, and has taken measures accordingly to prevent it. Ministers have, I hear, applied to the Swiss Cantons. The idea is preposterous! The Swiss never permit their troops to go beyond sea. But, my Lords, if even men were to be procured in Germany, how will you march them to the water-side? Have not our ministers applied for the port of Emden, and has it not been refused? I say, you will not be able to procure men even for your home-defence, if some immediate steps be not taken. I remember during the last war, it was thought advisable to levy independent companies: they were, when completed, formed into battalions, and proved of great service. I love the army; I know its use; but I must nevertheless own, that I was a great friend to the measure of establishing a national militia. I remember during the last war, that there were three camps formed of that corps at once in this kingdom. I saw them myself; one at Winchester; another in the west, at Plymouth; and a third, if I recollect right, at Chatham. [Here he was told that he was right.] Whether the militia is at present in such a state as to answer the valuable purposes it did then, or is capable of being rendered so, I will not pretend to say; but I see no reason why, in such a critical state of affairs, the experiment should not be made; and why it may not again be placed on its former respectable footing. I remember, all the circumstances considered, when appearances were not nearly so melancholy and alarming as they now are, that there were more troops in the county of Kent alone, for the defence of that county, than there are now in the whole island.

“My Lords, I contend that we have not, nor can procure, any force sufficient to subdue America*—it is monstrous to think of it.

* “Britain,” wrote Dr. Franklin to a friend in 1775, “at the expense of

state of this country. I am perfectly satisfied, that if the court gave the subject fair play, and the con-

There are several noble lords present well acquainted with military affairs : I call upon any one of them to rise and pledge himself, that the military force now within the kingdom is adequate to its defence, or that any possible force to be procured from Germany, Switzerland, or elsewhere, will be equal to the contest with America. I am too perfectly persuaded of their abilities and integrity, to expect any such assurance from them. Oh ! but if America is not to be conquered, she is to be treated with : conciliation is at length thought of ; terms are to be offered ! Who are the persons that are to treat on the part of this afflicted and deluded country ? — The very men who have been the authors of our misfortunes ; the very men who have endeavoured, by the most pernicious policy, the highest injustice and oppression — the most cruel and devastating war, to enslave those people ; they would conciliate, to gain the confidence and affection of those who have survived the Indian tomahawk and the German bayonet ! Can your Lordships entertain the most distant prospect of success from such a treaty, and such negotiators ? No, my Lords, the Americans have virtue, and must detest the principles of such men : they have too much understanding, and wisdom, to trust to that cunning and those narrow politics from which such overtures proceed. My Lords, I maintain that they would shun, with a mixture of prudence and detestation, any proposition coming from that quarter. They would receive terms from such men, as snares to allure and betray ; they would dread them as ropes, meant to be put about their legs to entangle and overthrow them.

“ My Lords, supposing that our domestic danger, if at all, is far distant ; that our enemies will leave us at liberty to prosecute this war with the utmost of our ability : supposing that your Lordships should grant a fleet one day, an army another ; all these, I do affirm, will avail nothing, unless you accompany it with advice. Ministers have been in error ; experience has proved it ; and, what is worse, in that error they persist. They told you in the beginning, that 15,000 men would traverse America, with scarcely the appearance of interruption. Two campaigns have passed since they gave us this assurance ; treble that number has been employed ; and one of your armies, which com-

three millions, has killed a hundred and fifty Yankees this campaign, which is twenty thousand pounds a head ; and at Bunker's Hill she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again by our taking post on Ploughed Hill : during the same time sixty thousand children have been born in America : from these data may easily be calculated the time and expense necessary to kill us all, and conquer the whole territory.”

trary language was not held by persons out of government, the object would be still more than at-

posed two thirds of the force by which America was to be subdued, has been totally destroyed, and is now led captive through those provinces you call rebellious. Those men whom you called cowards, poltroons, runaways, and knaves, are become victorious over your veteran troops; and in the midst of victory, and the flush of conquest, have set ministers an example of moderation and magnanimity.

“ My Lords, no time should be lost which may promise to improve this disposition in America, unless, by an obstinacy founded in madness, we wish to stifle those embers of affection which, after all our savage treatment, do not seem as yet to be entirely extinguished. While, on one side, we must lament the unhappy fate of that spirited officer, Mr. Burgoyne, and the gallant troops under his command, who were sacrificed to the wanton temerity and ignorance of ministers, we are as strongly impelled, on the other, to admire and applaud the generous, magnanimous conduct, the noble friendship, brotherly affection, and humanity of the victors, who, condescending to impute the horrid orders of massacre and devastation to their true authors, supposed that, as soldiers and Englishmen, those cruel excesses could not have originated with the General, nor were consonant to the brave and humane spirit of a British soldier, if not compelled to it as an act of duty. They traced the first cause of those diabolical orders to their source; and, by that wise and generous interpretation, granted their professed destroyers terms of capitulation, which they could be only entitled to as the makers of fair and honourable war.

“ My Lords, I should not have presumed to trouble you, if the tremendous state of this nation did not, in my opinion, make it necessary. Such as I have this day described it, I do maintain it to be: the same measures are still persisted in; and ministers, because your Lordships have been deluded, deceived, and misled, presume, that whenever the worst comes, they will be enabled to shelter themselves behind parliament. This, my Lords, cannot be the case: they have committed themselves and their measures to the fate of war, and they must abide the issue. I tremble for this country; I am almost led to despair, that we shall ever be able to extricate ourselves. Whether or not the day of retribution is at hand, when the vengeance of a much injured and afflicted people will fall heavily on the authors of their ruin, I am strongly inclined to believe, that before the day to which the proposed adjournment shall arrive, the noble Earl who moved it will have just cause to repent of his motion.”

The motion for adjourning to the 20th of January was carried by forty-seven against seventeen.

tainable to us ; but your Lordship may be assured a different opinion gains ground every day ; and it fills me with astonishment to meet with persons totally unconnected with each other daily coming over to the acknowledgment of their independence. Believe me to be,

My dear Lord,

with the truest respect,

your Lordship's most obliged

SHELburne.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO DR. ADDINGTON.

[From the original in the possession of Viscount Sidmouth.]

Hayes, January 14, 1778.

A THOUSAND thanks, my dear Sir, for the kind favour of your letter. The communication is very important, and I am persuaded very true. ⁽¹⁾ Where is this ruin to end? Heaven only knows. I hold out without gout hitherto ; perhaps I may last as long as Great Britain. Every affectionate good wish to you and yours.

Your most faithful

CHATHAM.

(1) Intelligence had this day reached London of a general engagement having taken place between the British and American armies in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, in which the loss on both sides was stated to be very considerable.

THOMAS COUTTS, ESQ. ⁽¹⁾ TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

January 21, 1778

“As no peace with America can ever be made by the present administration, I apprehend the King would be very glad, at the present moment, to receive a proposal from the only person who it is possible should *now* succeed in a point so essential, not only to the welfare, but even to the existence of Great Britain as a powerful nation ; providing it was accompanied with an offer to allow of one nobleman being in the cabinet who may be called in the language of politics his friend : Lord Rochford, I apprehend, would be satisfactory to his Majesty, and less objectionable and more popular than any other.”

Having had some opportunity of hearing various sentiments of various ranks, I was very much struck with the above opinion ; and I see so plain the danger to every man of any property from the present unhappy system, and the probability of the exertion of Lord Chatham’s abilities being still and only able to save us, I could not avoid enclosing it ; happy, indeed, beyond expectation, if I should have suggested a practicable mode of bringing about what every unbiassed man in Britain must sincerely wish.

(1) The eminent banker in the Strand. He was born about the year 1731, and died in February 1822.

I wrote down this opinion I heard delivered ; as it struck me at the time. Perhaps my enclosing it may be very useless, if not improper, but I flatter myself it cannot be thought ill meant. I am sure of not being misunderstood by your Ladyship ; but would not wish to submit myself to any other eye whatever, unless it were (as I can scarce suppose it) worth Lord Chatham's perusal.

THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM TO THOMAS COUTTS,
ESQ.

Hayes, January 22, 1778.

MY Lord desires me to say, that the suggestion contained in your letter is marked with the kind and friendly intention, that always actuates your proceeding towards him. To rescue a falling country from the last consequences of their own fatal errors, until those errors are fully perceived, and, from conviction, sincerely renounced, is a work too dangerous (not to say impossible) for presumption itself to undertake, unbidden, and uncommanded. To obtrude ideas, now, perhaps, in any case, too late, would be folly, as well as presumption ; courting extreme danger to no good end, and being but too likely to sink under the load of the faults of others. Nothing short of commands can be a motive to act in desperate cases : zeal, duty, and obedience may outlive hope.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Wednesday night, near one o'clock,
January 21, 1778.

MY LORD,

I WAS very glad to hear from Lord Mahon, that your Lordship's state of health continued so good, and that you remained in the country only till some business was to be agitated. Many of our friends did not come to London till yesterday; so that till this evening I could not have the opportunity of considering with them, in regard to what proceeding should now be had.

Those whom I had the honour to see to-night are desirous that some business should come on in both Houses on Friday. The particular business thought of has been the returns and musters, &c. of the armies in America, which will be laid before the House of Lords on that day.

Some who have already looked into those returns express much surprise at the manner of them. They seem evidently not intended clearly to show what the real state is; and, in some instances, the concealment appears very grossly. The Duke of Richmond's idea is, that they should be examined on the delivery in the House, and that the person who delivers them should be questioned.

This alone might not be sufficient business to occasion your Lordship a journey to London; but

it is also wished, that the motion for General Burgoyne's Instructions should be revived, and which, I think, when your Lordship made it before the holydays, was put off by a previous question, grounded on the necessity at that time; as it was then said, that at that moment the supposed fact of the surrender of Burgoyne's army was not authenticated.

In general I find that all concur in thinking, that the best service which now can be done for the public is to point out, and, if possible, fully convince them of the impossibility of going on with the war: to show them how much blood and treasure have already been wasted; the present state of the army and navy, and most particularly the miserable state of the funds; to point out the weakness and inability with which the military operations had been planned; and, indeed, the weakness and folly of every measure which the ministers have taken in this horrid war. The gross inattention and mispenditure of the public money, in various instances, will also, I hope, be made to appear very clearly. I hear that the conduct of the French has begun again to alarm; but nothing, as yet, seems to have had great effect.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, with the greatest truth and regard,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,

ROCKINGHAM.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Monday night,
January 26, 1778.

MY LORD,

I UNDERSTAND that your Lordship has been made acquainted with the business which is to come on in the House of Lords to-morrow, and that your Lordship is expected in town. I shall be glad of the opportunity of communicating a letter from America to a noble lord ⁽¹⁾, a friend of

(1) The letter referred to was written by General Gates, soon after the convention of Saratoga, to the Earl of Thanet. It was dated "Albany, October 26, 1777," and contained the following passages: —

"Presuming upon our former friendship, I take the liberty of addressing this letter to your Lordship, General Burgoyne having assured me it shall be faithfully delivered. The very important event of this campaign, so far as it respects General Burgoyne and myself, will, by the unexaggerating voice of truth, be related to your Lordship. For what less can be said of it, than that the King's army, which left Canada in June, are all killed, taken, or have surrendered prisoners under the convention of Saratoga? How this complete victory has been used, with respect to the behaviour of the conquerors to the vanquished, General Burgoyne and Lord Petersham, as they are soldiers, and men of honour, will declare. But to the main design of my addressing this letter to your Lordship.

"Born and educated in England, I cannot help feeling for the misfortunes brought upon my native country by the wickedness of that administration, who began, and have continued, this most unjust impolitic, cruel, and unnatural war. The dismemberment of the empire, the loss of commerce, of power, and consequence, amongst the nations, with the downfall of public credit, are but the beginning of those evils, that must inevitably be followed by a thousand more, unless timely prevented by some lenient hand, some great state physician, with the firmness, integrity, and abilities of a Chatham, joined to the wisdom, virtue, and justice of a Camden, aided and supported by such men as

mine, who wishes it might be shown to your Lordship. I should, therefore, wish to have the honour of seeing you at the time which may be most convenient.

I confess, my Lord, that part of the letter which I received from your Lordship on Thursday was rather matter of surprize to me. What your Lordship considers “as a fundamental point, in any treaty with America, and from which you had declared you could not depart,” is a point which I by no means can think a *sine quâ non*, in a treaty to restore peace and friendship between Great Britain and America. I expressed that sentiment in the House of Lords last year ; and I have had no reason since

your Lordship : men, as independent in their fortunes as unsullied in their honour, and who never bowed their heads to Baal. Such a man, so supported, may yet save the sinking state, by confirming that independency, which the people of this continent are resolved to part with but when they leave this world. Such a man will do what all wise statesmen have done before him. He will be true to the welfare and interest of his country ; and, by rescinding the resolutions passed to support that system which no power on earth can establish, he will endeavour to preserve so much of the empire, in prosperity and honour, as the circumstances of the times, and the mal-administration of those who ruled before him, have left to his government.

“ The United States of America are willing to be the friends, but never will submit to be the slaves, of the parent country. They are, by consanguinity, by commerce, by language, and by the affection which naturally springs from these, more attached to England than any other country under the sun. Therefore, spurn not the blessing which yet remains. Instantly withdraw your fleets and armies ; cultivate the friendship and commerce of America. Thus, and thus only, can England hope to be great and happy. Seek that in a commercial alliance ; seek it ere it be too late, for there only you must expect to find it. These, my Lord, are the undisguised sentiments of a man that rejoices not in the blood shed in this fatal contest ; of a man who glories in the name of an Englishman, and wishes to see peace and friendship between Great Britain and America fixed upon the firmest foundation.”

then to alter my opinion. Several did then concur with me, and more have been since convinced, as events have more clearly laid open the real state of affairs, and the relative situation of the two countries. My line in politics has ever been, not to hold out flattering expectations to the public, when I was not able to see the probability of their being accomplished. I conceive that America will never again assent to this country's having actual power within that continent. I cannot, therefore, so far betray my trust to the public, as to act as if that was practicable, which I thought otherwise. This, indeed, my Lord, may be a very material diversity of opinion ; but I should not have thought, that an actual inquiry into the causes, mismanagements, distressed state, and impending ruin of this country, would therefore, in any degree, be deprived of your Lordship's zeal and abilities, in the various steps by which it was to be carried on. An uninformed and misled public requires much labour and much attention, in those who wish to state matters so to them, as that they may see the miserable, forlorn, and perilous condition into which this country has been brought.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, with great truth and regard,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most humble servant,

ROCKINGHAM.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE MARQUIS OF
ROCKINGHAM.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

Hayes, January 27, 1778.

MY LORD,

A VERY violent cold leaves me just able to acknowledge the honour of your Lordship's letter, and puts it out of my power to be in the House to-day, as I had intended. I am much obliged to your Lordship for the favour you are so good as to propose of communicating to me the letter relating to America.

Any thing further, at present, concerning this unhappy subject, would, I fear, be giving your Lordship unnecessary trouble; as opinions are probably fixed. It is no small concern to me, to find, by your Lordship's letter, that my judgments, on the fundamental of a treaty with America, differ so widely with those, whose persons and whose general principles I so much respect.

I have the honour to remain always, with true esteem and regard, my Lord, &c.

CHATHAM.⁽¹⁾

(1) It is to be regretted, that no draught of Lord Chatham's answer to Lord Rockingham's previous letter has been preserved; as, from the references made to its contents, both by Lord Rockingham in his reply, and by Lord Temple in his letter of the 6th of February to Lady Chatham, it appears to have contained a full exposition of his views with regard to America.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Pall Mall, Friday night, February 6, 1778.

MY DEAR SISTER,

AMONGST the monstrous heap of stories, which are hourly circulating in this metropolis, and to which I pay no attention, I select the following. Our friend Brown⁽¹⁾ came, the other morning, piping hot from Lord Bute; who was outrageous in his expressions on the indispensable necessity, that the King should not lose a moment in sending for Lord Chatham, and this in terms and with a violence, which convinced him of his Lordship's sincerity and apprehensions.

I likewise learn, with an assurance of certainty, that yesterday morning Lord Mansfield went to Lord Holderness, and with tears in his eyes said, that the vessel was sinking, and that Lord Chatham must be sent for. From a variety of circumstances it appears, that the tide runs strongly that way; but whether veering with its ebb it may not leave the channel dry, I cannot say.

Lord Bute was very copious on the circumstance of the letter to Lord Rockingham, and the very handsome proceeding, of making a firm stand for the sovereignty and restrictions of trade. I think it would be advantageous to this view of things, if Lord Chatham shall be able to show himself. Ever your most affectionate

TEMPLE.

(1) "Capability" Brown. See *antè*, p. 430.

P. S. — Much distinction at court to my nephew George⁽¹⁾, who votes in the minority, and to Mr. Pitt⁽²⁾; Lady Mary likewise had a full dose, though neither nephew nor niece had been there till this week.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO DR. ADDINGTON.⁽³⁾

Hayes, February 7, 1778.

THE conversations which a certain gentleman⁽⁴⁾ has found means to have with you are, on his part, too insidious, and to me too offensive to be continued. What can this officious emissary mean by the nonsense he has at times thrown out to you? Let him remember, the next attempt he makes

(1) Mr. George Grenville, afterwards Lord Temple, and Marquis of Buckingham. In 1775, he married Lady Mary, eldest daughter of Earl Nugent, and in 1800, created an Irish peeress, by the title of Baroness Nugent.

(2) Mr. Thomas Pitt; afterwards Lord Camelford.

(3) It appears, from documents which were published shortly after Lord Chatham's decease, that the *favourable expressions* attributed to Lord Bute, in the preceding letter of Lord Temple, were much misunderstood, and that they were magnified by the over-zealous exertions of their respective friends, into a desire, on the part of that nobleman, to unite with Lord Chatham in the formation of an administration. Lord Bute strenuously denied that any such idea had been entertained by himself; and the above letter to Dr. Addington, from the original draught in the handwriting of Lord Chatham, will show, that he was equally disinclined to enter into a connection with Lord Bute.

(4) Sir James Wright, a friend of Lord Bute's.

to surprise your integrity by courtly insinuation, that his great patron and your village friend differ in this : one has ruined the King and kingdom ; the other still endeavours to save it.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE COUNTESS
STANHOPE.

[From the original in the possession of Earl Stanhope.]

Hayes, February 8, 1778.

TEN thousand thanks attend my dear Lady Stanhope, for the honour of her Ladyship's very flattering inquiry after the health of an old useless statesman, and for her kind welcome to the young tar who may, by the favour of Heaven, live to do some good⁽¹⁾ : I have never been extremely given to hope or to despair. I should not like *red-coats*

(1) His son James Charles, who had entered the navy in 1776, and was about this time promoted to a lieutenancy. In December, 1779, he proceeded to the West Indies, under Sir George Rodney, and shortly after his arrival on that station was appointed to the command of the *Hornet* sloop, where he died of a fever in the following November, in the twentieth year of his age. He was a youth of considerable promise, and of a most amiable disposition. In his last letter to his mother, previous to leaving England, he says, "Believe me, my dear mother, in my absence, at all times, you must be present to my thoughts, and I shall think of every means that can add to your happiness ; which I know I cannot take a more certain method of increasing, than by effecting something which may do me honour in the eyes of the world."

for inmates ; I more fear *white-coats*.⁽¹⁾ Picardy and Normandy are divided from their good friends in England by a narrow strait. I should be happy to learn that amendment of health at Chevening was not so passing and momentary.

[The remainder is in the handwriting of Lady Chatham.]

I am to add, that some little gout in the hand has made the pen move not so easily as inclination wished it to do ; but my Lord trusts his attempt will be kindly accepted. Your manner of inquiry after us, my dearest Lady Stanhope, flatters the feelings of the heart more than any other, however it might suit with that prevailing thing vanity. Every thing seems going on to heart's wish in Harley Street.⁽²⁾ Your dear son every day shows how equal the powers of his mind are to every subject. The accounts he has the attention to give of what he hears in the attendance he gives, are of a conciseness and clearness that is surprising and charming. If gouty hands do not prevent, it is my Lord's purpose to go to-morrow to London, and to be the guest of his dear children. I shall stay in my village, and pray that things may prove more happy than the present aspect of them seems to promise. Every kind wish to you and dear Lord Stanhope.

(1) The French army was at this time clothed in white.

(2) The residence of Lord and Lady Mahon.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Monday night, February 9, 1778:

MY DEAR SISTER,

I VERY much admired the magnanimous contents of your first letter, and much deplore those of the last. I think a step into court at this time not only perilous but desperate. Insolence in their hearts! alas, the pulse beats too low for any such fever; but what may be wanting in insolence will be fully made up, I dare say, in treachery. I know nothing further, except confirmation of what I last wrote. Confusion is every hour growing worse confounded. My little bark did, to be sure, “attendant sail;” but the sea at present is so rough, so strong, so full of breakers, that the port of Stowe is the best haven for your most affectionate brother,

TEMPLE.

May the fit prove of short and salutary duration! The falsehoods propagated concerning the man in bed, and by his *dear friends*, exceed all belief. I have spent much breath in blowing them away; but no flight of locusts ever exceeded them, in destroying, or rather attempting to destroy, the whole harvest of honour and spirit.

VISCOUNT MAHON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Harley Street, late Wednesday night,
February 11, 1778.

MY DEAR LORD,

HAVING had occasion to ask some questions of the Duke of Richmond concerning the next motions he

proposed to make in the committee upon the state of the nation, on Monday last, after the House was up, he inquired about your Lordship. I told him that gout, unfortunately, prevented your attending his Grace's state of the nation, the captures, &c. He expressed much concern ; said, that there never was a time when so great a man as Lord Chatham was more wanted than at present, and added, that he was infinitely mortified that there should *appear* to be, and much more, that there *should be*, any kind of difference of opinion at such a critical and dangerous crisis ; that it encouraged and strengthened *them*, (pointing to the Ministers' bench, with emotion,) at the same time that it weakened the cause of Opposition, both in parliament and with the people. I said, that every true Whig must at all times lament any difference of opinion amongst those who avowed the same end, and the same principles, with respect to the ruinous system now carrying on by administration ; that I was in hopes that there was at present more seeming than real difference of opinion ; and I asked the Duke, whether he could blame Lord Chatham for desiring to keep the now distracted parts of the empire together, and for attempting to prevent such a disgraceful and fatal dismemberment of this country ? "I do hope," says he, "that it is more a seeming than a real difference of opinion ; and so far from blaming Lord Chatham for wishing to prevent this separation, I highly applaud him for it, if he has any kind of reason in the world to think that the thing can be rendered practicable,

by any means whatever. And so desirous am I," added the Duke, "that this may be done, that if Lord Chatham thinks it right to attempt it, and does attempt it, I will certainly be the first to give him every support in my power; but I must go one step farther, that if Lord Chatham, after having fully and fairly attempted it, should fail in his expectations, notwithstanding all the support that I can give him, I, for my part, in order to put an end to this war, and procure peace, will be contented with getting less, if it is out of every body's power to get more."

I recalled to his Grace's remembrance what had passed the first day of this session, when he had pledged himself to the House, to retain the substance of the laws of trade and navigation; and when he spoke so strongly in favour of a re-union between the two countries, as one; and when he expressed himself so feelingly upon that "true British family compact," that would be able to defy all the family compacts in the world besides. He said, that he still remained of the same opinion; but that at no rate was he of opinion, that the war against the free-born Englishmen, upon the continent of America, should be to be carried on. He seemed to have misunderstood your Lordship in this respect; for he apprehended, from some expressions that had fallen from you, in one of the debates, that it was your opinion, that the war should be carried on with a redoubled vigour, supposing that the Americans should refuse their assent to any one of the points

that your Lordship might chance to look upon as fundamentals, and which the people of England, as well as himself, might only look upon as secondary considerations, in a treaty with America. That he was for putting an end to the war, at any rate.

I told the Duke, that his sentiments about America had been differently understood by different persons, though I had myself conceived them to be as he now explained them; and with respect to what had fallen in debate from Lord Chatham, that I imagined he had applied to the civil war with America what had only been said upon strengthening the hands of government for the defence of England. He said, that it struck him otherwise at the time; but that there was nothing he desired more than that there should be no disunion, nor appearance of disunion, between him, his friends, and Lord Chatham. I own, for my part, that I am persuaded he is sincere, and that he would act an open and honourable part towards any person who might ever have any connection with him. What your Lordship declared in the House of Lords, about putting an end to the war, about the immediate recall of the troops, and the explicit declaration which you made *never to send another man*, at any rate; what fell from Lord Lyttleton in reply, and what I have had the great happiness to hear your Lordship say in private, on the one hand; and on the other, what had been misunderstood by the Duke of Richmond, to have been the meaning of certain expressions in one day's debate, fully convince me

that *seeming differences* in sentiment did exist, in more respects than one.

What was said by the Duke of Richmond, in the debate ⁽¹⁾ of to-day, shows also, that the words he made use of the day of the adjournment did not (as I suspected was the case) convey at all the meaning which he intended they should convey. He explained himself publicly to-day in the following manner :—The Earl of Hillsborough (who, though a British peer, retains all the accuracy of conception of a true Irishman) made a long speech, which can be compared to nothing but to those which are generally made by Lord Denbigh. He attacked most violently the Declaratory act, and those who passed it, and called personally upon the Duke of Richmond to declare, “ in what manner he meant that England was to crouch to the vipers and rebels in America ; whether by giving up the sacred right of taxation ; whether by repealing the various late acts of the British parliament ; whether by yielding to America with respect to her absurd pretensions about her charters, or whether by declaring the thirteen provinces independent.”

The Duke of Richmond, in reply, said, that he was particularly happy in having an opportunity given him to justify and explain his former conduct ; that with respect to the Declaratory act, any reason that ever weighed with him in favour of that act was to obtain the repeal of the stamp-act :

(1) No report of this debate is preserved in the Parliamentary History.

many people of high principles could never, in his opinion, have been brought to repeal the stamp-act without it ; that the number of those who opposed that repeal, even as it was, were very numerous ; that he had voted for the Declaratory act with regret ; “for,” said he, “I never liked it ; I wish we could have done without it ; I looked upon it as a piece of waste paper, that no minister would ever have the madness to revive.” And he added, that he would with pleasure be the first, either to repeal it, or, in short, to give it up. He said that he thought it unfair in the noble earl to require a detailed explanation of his plan and system of reconciliation with the colonies ; that he was extremely unwilling to specify and declare exactly how far he would or would not go ; that such a declaration to the full extent would be destroying the idea of a treaty ; that he earnestly and ardently wished to get for Great Britain the best terms he could ; that he should probably not agree with the noble lord, what were good or advantageous terms for Great Britain herself to get ; that he would not enter into any minute details upon the proper terms, but that he would give full and entire satisfaction to America, for the unjust treatment she had met with from this country ; that he would explain no further, but leave the rest to a treaty.

Here Lord Mansfield cried out “Hear him ! hear him !” repeatedly, with the most striking and remarkable appearance of approbation of this part of his speech. The Duke desired, that their Lordships would

recall to their remembrance the letter from Lord and Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, giving an account of the conference which they had had with the three commissioners from the congress at Staten Island, and which had been immediately broken off on the part of the Americans, who refused to enter into any treaty or to confer upon business, unless their independency was previously declared; that he wished to have removed that obstacle, by treating with them upon that footing, that was to say, upon the footing of equality; that he had humbly been of opinion, that a treaty so begun might end perfectly well for England; and that it might be finally concluded, upon the ground and footing of dependency; that the not losing for ever the substance of a fundamental and substantial treaty, from any idle punctilio in the manner of beginning, conducting, and carrying on this treaty, was all that he meant to convey upon a former day's debate, before the adjournment; and that he desired particularly that it might be so understood. He said he wished that no person in that House would ever, for the future, use those terms of dependency or independency, without defining particularly in what sense it was meant they should be understood; that some noble lords in his eye would call independency the giving up the right of taxation, &c.; that others would certainly not look upon such kind of terms offered to the Americans to be the giving up the dependency of the colonies upon the mother-country; that some kinds of dependency might be the constant source

of jealousy, broils, and inveterate hatred, and that some terms that certain lords might be pleased to look upon as independency might be big with wisdom, prosperity, and every kind of beneficial advantages, and happy consequences to this country; that what would be justly looked upon as an infamous and ignominious peace from the part of Ministers, who cannot consistently with their own conduct approve of such terms of just and equitable reconciliation, would be both fair and honourable terms from those who had uniformly asserted the right of the Americans to property, security, and freedom, and who had constantly declared, from principle, that this war was cruel and unjust.

Some persons might differ, perhaps, from his Grace, upon some particular points of opinion; but there is nobody but who must admire the candour and the spirit with which he delivered these manly sentiments. The Marquis of Rockingham defended his conduct with respect to the Declaratory act: after which, he came to touch upon the question of dependency and independency. "What do you mean," says he, "my Lords, by dependency? Do you mean taxation? There is no lord in administration but who must have made up his mind to the abandoning all idea of taxation. Do you mean the power of sending troops? This is, if possible, more absurd. Do you mean governments in America? The Americans will never endure the very idea for an instant. Do you mean governors without force? This is equally ridiculous and impracti-

cable. If your Lordships at any time mean reconciliation, you must first make up your minds to the Americans never being to consent to give this country any power or direct authority within that continent." Lord Derby, in the first debate upon papers, said that General Burgoyne would certainly insist upon the strictest inquiry into his conduct. Mr. George Grenville, I hear, this day in the House of Commons, after having attacked, in the strongest manner, the persons in administration, added, that "since there did exist such a man as the Earl of Chatham in this country, he thought it was a duty incumbent upon the Crown to call for his services in such a moment."

What I have said hitherto is extremely pleasing; the first part not less so, in my opinion, than the last; but I am to add, that India stock fell from 55 to 50 this morning, before the House of Lords met, though it was not mentioned in the debate; and this fall was occasioned, as I was informed, on account of news of some kind of hostilities committed by the French upon the continent of India. The Duke of Richmond told me to-day that he understood it was certain that a treaty of alliance was concluded between America and the court of France, and that this treaty was sent to the Congress to be ratified. The Duke said three times in his speech, "I am very much afraid that this country is actually undone." If all this news is true, good God, in what a situation is this country! If it is not true (which I scarcely dare to hope),

there is a clearer prospect, from this day's debate, than, from appearances, we might before have expected. Believe me ever, my dearest Lord, your most dutiful and affectionate Son,

MAHON.

There never was a speech like that of Lord Sandwich's, to prove the benefits arising from the American war, in ignorance, folly, and impudence, in parliament assembled.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Pall Mall, February 12, 1778.

I AM very happy, my dear sister, to hear that the part taken by my nephew has been pleasing to the sick man; it was very explicit, indeed, and very sincere.⁽¹⁾ The person you mention had been with me the day before: much the same style as three years ago, only enlarged and more pressing.⁽²⁾ I

⁽¹⁾ In the debate in the House of Commons on the preceding day, Mr. George Grenville referred to Lord Chatham in the following terms:—"If there be a man who has served this nation with honour to himself and glory to his country; if there be a man who has carried the arms of Great Britain triumphant to every quarter of the globe, and that beyond the most sanguine expectations of the people; if there be a man of whom the House of Bourbon stands more peculiarly in awe; if there be a man in this country who unites the confidence of England and America, is not he the proper person to treat with America? There is not one present who is ignorant of the person to whom I allude. You all know that I mean a noble and near relation—Lord Chatham."

⁽²⁾ See *antè*, p. 404.

spoke only *my own* opinion of things, and not the smallest way could be made, or encouragement given, to hope they could be seen in the wished-for light. A word to the wise is sufficient, as well as one affectionate word to both—commissioned, no doubt!

THE MARQUIS OF GRANBY TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.

Knightsbridge, February 18, 1778.

MY DEAR LORD,

LORD NORTH's propositions for peace passed the committee last night. ⁽¹⁾ In the course of the de-

⁽¹⁾ Lord North concluded his speech, with moving for leave to bring in, 1st, "A bill for declaring the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his Majesty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America:" and, 2dly, "A bill to enable his Majesty to appoint commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America."—"A dull, melancholy silence, for some time," says the *Annual Register*, "succeeded to this speech. It had been heard with profound attention, but without a single mark of approbation to any part, from any description of men, or any particular man in the House. Astonishment, dejection, and fear, overclouded the whole assembly. Although the Minister had declared, that the sentiments he expressed that day had been those which he always entertained, it is certain, that few or none had understood him in that manner; and he had been represented to the nation at large,

bate, Mr. Fox informed the House, that a report had strongly obtained, that within ten days France had actually signed a treaty with the Americans, acknowledging their independence, and entering into an alliance with them. The Ministers remained for some time totally silent, till, after many gentlemen had called upon Lord North for an answer (for it was put to him, whether he had been apprized of the fact), Sir George Savile pressed it to him in so direct and positive a manner, that at last he confessed, “that he had received the same intelligence, though not officially, and that therefore he could neither affirm nor deny the authenticity of the account.” This so directly corresponds with what your Lordship’s wisdom and sagacity had always predicted, that I hope your Lordship will not think me officious in troubling your Lordship with a letter on the subject. Every thing carries the appearance of an unavoidable and immediate war. ⁽¹⁾

as the person in it the most tenacious of those parliamentary rights which he now proposed to resign, and the most remote from the submissions which he now proposed to make. It was generally therefore concluded, that something more extraordinary and alarming had happened than yet appeared, which was of force to produce such an apparent change in measures, principles, and arguments.”

⁽¹⁾ Gibbon, in a letter to Mr. Holroyd, of the 23d, says, “While we consider whether we shall negotiate, I fear the French have been more diligent. It is positively asserted, both in private and in parliament, and not contradicted by the Ministers, that on the 5th of this month a treaty of commerce (which naturally leads to a war) was signed at Paris with the independent states of America. Yet there still remains a hope

I hope your Lordship's gout continues favourable, and will be productive of such a stock of health, which may again enable your Lordship to save us from the cloud of misfortune which is suspended over our heads. Every hour renders our situation more dangerous and alarming. I am, my dear Lord, with the greatest respect, &c.

GRANBY.

LORD CAMDEN TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Burlington Street, March 15, 1778.

My DEAR LORD,

SINCE I came to town, I heard that yesterday the French ambassador delivered a declaration to Lord Weymouth, importing, that as America had now declared and confirmed her independence, his master had entered into a treaty of commerce and friendship with her, and should think himself under a necessity of supporting the commerce of his subjects to these as well as the other parts of the world ⁽¹⁾: that the treaty was not exclusive, but

that England may obtain the preference. The two greatest countries in Europe are fairly running a race for the favour of America."

(1) "Que l'honneur de son pavillon, et la protection qu'il doit au commerce de ses sujets, lui avoient fait prendre des mesures éventuelles avec les treize états unis et indépendentes, de l'Amerique."

that all other nations are at liberty to enter into similar alliances with her.

I give your Lordship the particulars of this paper very imperfectly, as I heard them; but you may depend upon the fact. Our court has not yet given any answer to it. The city, it should seem, had some intimation of this event; for the stocks fell to-day, and the new loan was at one and a half discount. Your Lordship may expect to hear more, as soon as I am acquainted with more; but I thought it became me not to let a post pass without imparting to your Lordship this most interesting piece of news. I am, with very best wishes, &c.

CAMDEN.

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT TO THE
COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Pembroke Hall, Thursday, March 19, 1778.

MY DEAR MOTHER,

I AM very much obliged to you for having taken the trouble to send me an account of the important event which has just happened. I am not sure whether I can find in the history of antiquity any instance of a nation so miserably sacrificed as this has been; but I believe almost every page will furnish an example of the only method left to revive it;—recurring, in the extremity of danger, to those whose superiority is unhappily as much proved by

the failure of others, as it had been by their own success. I shall be anxious to know what consequences are to be expected, and what chance of any thing being done to redeem the country from so distressful a situation. I cannot help wishing more than ever, that gout may make its retreat as soon as it can do so safely, and flatter myself, it will leave a stock of health behind it. I wish, most truly, that Pitt may at least derive, from the present circumstances, the benefit of returning, in a satisfactory manner, to his profession.⁽¹⁾ I am obliged to finish here. I am ever, my dear mother's dutiful and affectionate

W. PITT.

THOMAS COUTTS, ESQ. TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Strand, March 21, 1778.

MADAM,

I SHOULD be happy to hear favourable accounts of Lord Chatham's health : which becomes every day more interesting, in the present desponding state of the people. Every rank looks up to him with the only gleam of hope that remains; nor do I meet with any one who does not lament and wonder, that his Majesty has not yet publicly desired the only help that can have a chance to extricate the

(¹) See *antè*, p. 420. In the course of this month Lord Pitt again entered the army, and in the following May proceeded to Gibraltar, as aide-de-camp to General Boyd, lieutenant-governor of that fortress.

country from the difficulties which every day grow greater, and must otherwise, I fear, become insurmountable.

I cannot forbear mentioning, on this occasion, what one of the most active men of rank I ever knew declared to me yesterday, that he sincerely wished to see Lord Chatham in power, and would be happy to take any part he would wish or direct in the executive part of his Lordship's plans for the good of this country ; that he has nothing to wish for himself, but he thinks the country in imminent danger, and that his experience and knowledge of office might make him useful to Lord Chatham, and that he is sure there is no man his Lordship might more thoroughly rely upon to have his orders quickly and effectually obeyed.

The peer's name is the Earl of Rochford ; and it is but justice to communicate, what he expressed to me, with more warmth than I can give to a letter, and I really believe with the same sincerity and respect with which I shall ever subscribe myself, Madam, Lord Chatham's and your Ladyship's most faithful and obedient servant,

THOMAS COUTTS.⁽¹⁾

(¹) Memorandum of Lady Chatham's answer : — “ My Lord desires you to accept his warmest thanks for your very friendly wishes and useful information, and begs of you, in some proper method, to express the true sense he has of your favourable sentiments of the noble Lord alluded to in your letter on his subject ; towards whom my Lord has always entertained mutual sentiments of esteem and regard. As to the uncertainty and indecision of things, in the present strange crisis, it is an inexplicable riddle which would puzzle an Œdipus.”

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO THE EARL OF
CHATHAM.Berkeley Square, Sunday morning,
March 22, 1778.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE Duke of Richmond and Lord Rockingham's opinions have taken so decided a complexion, that I think it material to apprise your Lordship of them. They intend to-morrow to move the House for withdrawing the troops from the thirteen provinces⁽¹⁾, and on the Monday following to sum up the proceedings of their committee, concluding either with a censure or a desire to remove Ministers. The Duke of Richmond is so convinced of the possibility of detaching America from France, and avoiding both wars, by acknowledging the independence, that he seems determined to take both these occasions of renewing and inculcating this favourite measure, and goes so far, as in case of war being declared and a change of men taking place, to insist on this preliminary. I said every thing I could to dissuade him from this last idea, as I see nothing but endless evil and dissension. I wish most sincerely that when your Lordship comes to talk to him you may find that I misunderstood him in this extent.

I am in some doubt about my own conduct in

(1) This motion was made on the following day, and negatived by fifty-six against twenty-eight.

this complicated scene. I have already declared very opposite opinions so distinctly, that no one can suspect me of abandoning them. On the other hand, answering the Duke of Richmond whenever he re-asserts them is in fact doing the business of Ministers ; who are abundantly content to look on, hear themselves abused, to which a certainty of indemnity has long rendered them indifferent, and hear these delicate points otherwise discussed ; and as long as I can bring no fresh authority with me, the cause may wear out in such weak hands, especially when it may come to lose its false support. Indeed, Lord Camden seems of opinion, that the measure of independence, however wise before, would be useless and disgraceful since the French declaration, but is not sufficiently decided to take a part, unless your Lordship's answer, as he knows of my writing, or your opinion conveyed, as you may think proper, to which he has an excessive deference, may determine him. The Duke of Grafton may then take the same line. Your Lordship is the best judge of the effect or consequence of this appearance. I am very willing to do whatever your Lordship thinks may best advantage the public, though the state of it, the court, opposition, parliament, requires more than indifferent spirits ; which is the most I can boast of.

I have the honour to be,

with great esteem, &c.

SHELBURNE.

THOMAS COUTTS, ESQ. TO THE COUNTESS OF
CHATHAM.

Strand, March 25, 1778.

MADAM,

I WAITED on Lord Rochford in Harley Street this morning, and knowing his character, and that he would impute what I had done to the true motive, I read to him the paragraph of your Ladyship's letter that related to him, and he expressed, in very strong terms indeed, his thanks for it, and repeated what he had formerly said, — "that however difficult the task might be of extricating this country from the deplorable situation it was in, he was sure no man on earth could do it but Lord Chatham, and that to effectuate so glorious a work he would cheerfully co-operate under the direction of so able and persevering a statesman."

Permit me to express my joy at hearing the favourable account of Lord Chatham's health. Every day brings new reasons for wishing the continuance of it, and adds to the universal opinion, that if this country can be saved, it must be by his Lordship's hand; though it is a melancholy reflection, that every hour his Majesty delays to submit the guidance of it entirely to his Lordship makes the task more difficult. I am, &c. THOMAS COUTTS. (1)

(1) The following is the only memorandum of Lady Chatham's reply which has been preserved: — "It is impossible any thing can be more conformable to my Lord's wishes, than the use you so kindly made of the passage in the letter, in the place where he wishes to cultivate and cherish mutual esteem and confidence. The inexplicable riddle of delay is to be solved only one way now — by direct treachery and corruption."

LORD CAMDEN TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Camden Place, April 3, 1778.

LORD CAMDEN presents his compliments to the Earl of Chatham, and would be happy to have the honour of seeing him at any time to-morrow morning that is most convenient to his Lordship. He has no news worth imparting. The Ministers seem to be recovered from their panic, to have taken heart again upon the prospect of peace, which they are courting by any homage of submission both to France and America, and to stand as firm as ever upon the broad bottom of their majority. Lord Camden hopes to hear his Lordship is again upon his legs, and wishes that he may be able to make his appearance once before the holydays.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Whitehall, April 5, 1778.

MY LORD,

As I undertook the inquiry into the state of the nation, not only with your Lordship's approbation, but I may say with your encouragement, I beg leave to communicate to your Lordship the draft of an Address to his Majesty to wind up the

business of the committee, which I have given notice of my intentions to move on Tuesday next.

I have much regretted that your Lordship could not attend this business in its progress in the House, and particularly that there should have appeared any want of that union and confidence, which your Lordship so strongly recommended in November last, and which I trusted had taken place.

I am willing to hope that differences of opinion were more apparent than real, and arose only from want of opportunities to communicate and to explain; for as I believe your Lordship and those I have the honour to act with were agreed as to the impracticability of compelling America to subjection by war, I think the difference could only be as to the more or less sanguine expectations we might form of what could be obtained by their consent. The circumstances are much changed of late, and may possibly now make our degrees of hope more similar. All I can say is, that I remain strongly impressed with the sentiments your Lordship expressed in your letter to the Marquis of Rockingham in November last, that mutual confidence and re-union are necessary to the preservation of the whole, and that all must unite at present, or all must be lost.

In drawing the enclosed motion I have endeavoured, in the plan and in the expressions, to accommodate it to the sentiments of all parts of Opposition, as it is wished to have it signed as a protest. I have, in particular, made such alterations as Lord

Shelburne thought would be most agreeable to your Lordship. I shall be happy if it meets with your approbation, and still more so if your Lordship's health should enable you to honour it with your support. It is with the utmost respect that I have the honour to be, &c.

RICHMOND, ETC.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

[From a draught in the handwriting of Lord Pitt.]

April 6, 1778.

LORD CHATHAM presents his respects to the Duke of Richmond, and desires to express his best thanks for the great honour of the communication of the motion intended by his Grace on Tuesday.

It is an unspeakable concern to him, to find himself under so very wide a difference with the Duke of Richmond, as between the *sovereignty* and *allegiance* of America, that he despairs of bringing about successfully any honourable issue. He is inclined to try it, before *this bad* grows worse. Some weakness still continues in his hands; but he hopes to be in town to-morrow. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ On the "morrow," Lord Chatham appeared in the House of Lords, *for the last time*. Two reports of his brief speech on this affecting occasion have been preserved, and here follow. After Lord Weymouth had opposed the Duke of Richmond's motion for an address to the King, recapitulating the expenses,

LORD CAMDEN TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Camden Place, May 30, 1778.

MADAM,

I HAVE hitherto thought it improper to break in upon your Ladyship's grief, judging it to be no better

losses, and misconduct of the war, and entreating his Majesty to dismiss his Ministers, and withdraw his forces, by sea and land, from the revolted provinces,—

The Earl of *Chatham* rose. — He began by lamenting, that his bodily infirmities had so long, and especially at so important a crisis, prevented his attendance on the duties of parliament. He declared that he had made an effort almost beyond the powers of his constitution to come down to the House on this day (perhaps the last time he should ever be able to enter its walls) to express the indignation he felt at an idea which he understood was gone forth, of yielding up the sovereignty of America! “My Lords,” continued he, “I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy! Pressed down as I am by the hand of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my Lords, while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the House of Brunswick, the heirs of the Princess Sophia, of their fairest inheritance. Where is the man that will dare to advise such a measure? My Lords, his Majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Shall we tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions? Shall this great kingdom, that has survived whole and entire the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman conquest; that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish armada, now fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon? Surely, my Lords, this nation is no longer what it was! Shall a people that fifteen years ago was the terror of the world now stoop so low as to tell its ancient inveterate enemy, Take all we have, only give us peace. It is impossible! I wage war with no man, or set of men. I wish for none of their employments; nor would I co-operate with men who still persist in unretraeted error; or who, instead of acting on a firm decisive line of conduct, halt between two opinions, where there is no middle path. In God's name, if it is absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and the former cannot be preserved with

than impertinence, to trouble your Ladyship with compliments of condolence, in a case that can ad-

honour, why is not the latter commenced without hesitation? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not. But, my Lords, any state is better than despair. Let us at least make one effort; and if we must fall, let us fall like men!"—When his Lordship sat down, Lord Temple said to him, "You forgot to mention what we talked of; shall I get up?" Lord Chatham replied, "No, no; I will do it by-and-by."

The above is from the newspapers of the day. Another report appeared afterwards, in the *London Magazine*:—

The Earl of *Chatham* followed Lord Weymouth.—He appeared to be extremely feeble, and spoke with that difficulty of utterance which is the characteristic of severe indisposition. His Lordship began with declaring that his ill health had for some time obliged him to absent himself from the performance of his parliamentary duty; he rejoiced, however, that he was yet alive to give his vote against so impolitic, so inglorious a measure as the acknowledgment of the independency of America; and declared he would much rather be in his grave than see the lustre of the British throne tarnished, the dignity of the empire disgraced, the glory of the nation sunk to such a degree as it must be, when the dependency of America on the sovereignty of Great Britain was given up. The Earl next adverted to the conduct of the court of France, and observed, that at a crisis like the present, he would openly speak his sentiments, although they might turn out to be dangerous. As a reason for throwing off reserve, he said he did not approve of halting between two opinions, when there was no middle path; that it was necessary absolutely to declare either for peace or war, and when the former could not be preserved with honour, the latter ought to be declared without hesitation. Having made this remark, he asked, where was the ancient spirit of the nation, that a foreign power was suffered to bargain for that commerce which was her natural right, and enter into a treaty with her own subjects, without instantly resenting it? Could it be possible that we were the same people who but fifteen years ago were the envy and admiration of all the world? How were we altered! and what had made the alteration? He feared there was something in the dark, something lurking near the throne, which gave motion to administration—something unseen, which caused such pusillanimous, such timid, such dastardly councils. What! where we to sit down in an ignominious tameness? to say, "Take from us what you will, but in God's name let us be at peace?" Were we blinded by

mit of no consolation ; at least till time shall have worn off the first impression. Nor, indeed, should

despair? Could we forget that we were Englishmen? Could we forget that the nation had stood the Danish irruptions? had stood the irruptions of other nations! had stood the inroads of the Scotch! had stood the Norman conquests! had stood the threatened invasion by the famous Spanish armada, and the various efforts of the Bourbon compacts! Why, then, should we now give up all, without endeavouring to prevent our losses, without a blow, without an attempt to resent the insults offered us? If France and Spain were for war, why not try an issue with them? If we fell afterwards, we should fall decently, and like men.

“ Having spoken with some enthusiasm upon these points, his Lordship said he waged war against no set of men, neither did he wish for any of their employments: he then reverted to the subject of American independency; and after recalling the attention of their lordships to the extent and revenue of the estate of the crown of England, when the present King came into the possession of it, asked what right the Houses of Parliament had to deprive the Prince of Wales, the Bishop of Osnaburgh, and the other rising hopes of the beloved royal family, of the inheritance of the thirteen American provinces? Sooner than consent to take away from any of the heirs of the Princess Sophia what they had a legal and natural right to expect to possess, he declared he would see the Prince of Wales, the Bishop of Osnaburgh, and the rest of the young princes, brought down to the committee, and hear them consent to lose their inheritance. The Earl declared he was exceedingly ill; but as long as he could crawl down to that House, and had strength to raise himself on his crutches, or to lift his hand, he would vote against the giving up the dependency of America on the sovereignty of Great Britain; and if no other lord was of opinion with him, he would singly protest against the measure.

“ With regard to our power to carry on the war, or commence a new one with France, there were, he said, means, though he knew not what; if, however, he was called upon to give his advice, he would give it honestly; and though, from his exceeding ill state of health, he feared he had not abilities enough to insure to the execution of his measures the wished-for success, he would make some amends by his sincerity.”

To these may be subjoined the following spirited outline, which appeared in Lloyd's Evening Post:—

“ The Earl of *Chatham* spoke next. Nothing could be more moving than this dying effort of the veteran patriot. He seemed to have obtained a temporary exemption from the arrest of fate, that he might groan a fare-

I now venture to trespass upon your Ladyship's retirement, if my Lord's appointment of me to be

well admonition to his native land, and say with the great Cobham, "Save my country, Heaven!" and die. He did not, in this short harangue, advert separately to the distinct arguments contained in the Duke of Richmond's speech, but argued against the apparent result; that is, against the admission of American independence. He said, he had read of extreme emergencies to which, in the vicissitude of things, this country had been reduced. It had arisen bright and glorious from the Danish irruption! the Norman invasion! and Gallic depredations! It had escaped the menace of destruction, which the Spanish armada once held over it; and, having superseded every difficulty, fifteen years ago, stood exalted on the pinnacle of glory; on the very heights of national grandeur! Then, England dictated to all Europe! Now, so far had she degenerated from this superiority, that she deigned to acquiesce in insults, and sit down quiet under the worst indignities! What! were we changed? Were we not Englishmen? Did not the same blood run in our veins, and the same hearts animate us? The national danger indeed, was great; but though he knew no means of extricating us immediately from this dilemma, yet this he knew — that nothing was so bad as despair. He never would consent to resign American dependency. If America declared herself independent, she should find him in her way. What compensation could be made to the rising princes for this amputation of their dominions? What could be said to them, for disinheriting them of their hereditary and legitimate possessions? They ought to be invited before the committee, and receive a demonstration, that it was necessary for them to sign the dereliction of this valuable part of the national property. Being now exhausted, the great politician sat down."

When the Duke of Richmond had concluded his reply, Lord Chatham made an effort to rise again; but, after repeated attempts, he suddenly pressed his hand to his heart and sunk down in a swoon. The Duke of Cumberland, Lords Temple and Stamford, and other peers, hastened to his assistance. The House was immediately cleared, and the debate adjourned. His Lordship was removed into the Prince's Chamber, and the medical assistance of Dr. Brocklesby, who happened to be in the House, was instantly procured. The following account of Lord Chatham's illness, which first appeared in Mr. Seward's "Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons" was given to that gentleman by a friend, who was present at the time: —

"Lord Chatham came into the House of Lords, leaning upon two

one of his executors — an honour I am more ambitious of inscribing upon my tomb, than the

friends, wrapped up in flannel, pale and emaciated. Within his large wig little more was to be seen than his aquiline nose, and his penetrating eye. He looked like a dying man; yet never was seen a figure of more dignity: he appeared like a being of a superior species.

“ He rose from his seat with slowness and difficulty, leaning on his crutches, and supported under each arm by his two friends. He took one hand from his crutch and raised it, casting his eyes towards heaven, and said, ‘ I thank God that I have been enabled to come here this day — to perform my duty, and to speak on a subject which has so deeply impressed my mind. I am old and infirm — have one foot, more than one foot, in the grave — I am risen from my bed, to stand up in the cause of my country — perhaps never again to speak in this House.’ The reverence — the attention — the stillness of the House was most affecting: if any one had dropped a handkerchief, the noise would have been heard. At first he spoke in a very low and feeble tone; but as he grew warm, his voice rose, and was as harmonious as ever: oratorical and affecting, perhaps more than at any former period; both from his own situation, and from the importance of the subject on which he spoke. He gave the whole history of the American war; of all the measures to which he had objected; and all the evils which he had prophesied, in consequence of them; adding at the end of each, ‘ And so it proved!’ In one part of his speech he ridiculed the apprehension of an invasion, and then recalled the remembrance of former invasions. ‘ Of a Spanish invasion, of a French invasion, of a Dutch invasion, many noble lords may have read in history; and some lords (looking keenly at Lord Mansfield) may, perhaps, remember a Scotch invasion.’

“ While the Duke of Richmond was speaking, he looked at him with attention and composure; but when he rose up to answer, his strength failed him, and he fell backwards. He was instantly supported by those who were near him, and every one pressed round him with anxious solicitude. His youngest son, the honourable James Pitt, was particularly active and clever in assisting his venerable father, though the youth was not more than seventeen or eighteen years of age. Lord Chatham was carried to Mr. Sargent’s house, in Downing Street, where he was accommodated with every kind and friendly attention, both at this time and on a preceding day, when he had attended the House of Lords, some weeks before. From thence he was carried home to Hayes, and put to that bed from which he never again rose. His death, therefore, may be truly said to have taken place in the House of Lords, in the discharge of a great public duty — a duty which he came, in a dying state, to perform!”

Lord Chatham’s death took place on Monday, the 11th of May; five months before he had completed his seventieth year.

highest of those I formerly enjoyed — had not made it necessary for me to assure your Ladyship, that I accept the trust, with an ardent desire of doing every thing under your Ladyship's direction, that you may judge for the convenience and advantage of the family ; and I do entreat your Ladyship, that all the trouble of this business, whatever that may be, may devolve solely upon me ; that nothing may be left to your Ladyship and Lord Temple, but the right of ordering, and to me nothing but the duty of obeying, unless you should think my poor advice at any time worth asking. I am at present in the country only for a day, as I return to London on Monday to attend and carry through Lord Chatham's Bill ⁽¹⁾; which will not meet with any opposi-

(1) On the evening of the 11th of May, Colonel Barré, with the strongest marks of the most profound concern and grief, communicated to the House of Commons the intelligence of the death of the Earl of Chatham, and moved an address to the King, to give direction, that the remains of the great statesman might be interred at the public expense. For many years, the services of the deceased nobleman had been so unacceptable at court, that his name even was not frequently mentioned. Mr. Rigby, therefore, endeavoured to get rid of the motion, by suggesting that a monument to his memory would be a more eligible testimony of the public gratitude. The Opposition received the suggestion with joy; and Mr. Dunning proposed, that the following words should be tacked to the original motion: — “ And that a monument be erected, in the collegiate church of St. Peter's, Westminster, to the memory of that excellent statesman, with an inscription expressive of the public sense of so great and irreparable a loss; and to assure his Majesty, that this House will make good the expenses attending the same.” At this instant, Lord North, who had gone home, entered the House in great haste. He declared his happiness in arriving time enough to give his vote for the motion, which he hoped would pass unani-

tion, though some few lords, as I hear, are inclined to mutter some dislike to it. I do not know their

mously; and lamented, that he had not breath enough, from the hurry in which he came down, to express himself with that degree of respect which he wished to show on so great an occasion. The amended motion was carried without a dissentient voice. On the 13th, Lord John Cavendish expressed a hope, that the public gratitude would not stop at what it had done. The great statesman, he said, whose loss the country would long have reason to deplore, had distinguished himself as much by his disinterestedness, as by his zeal and ability in his country's service: the consequence of this exemplary virtue was, that with the greatest opportunities of acquiring an ample fortune, he had left his family destitute of all suitable provision: he trusted the House would take their case into its consideration, and not suffer the descendants of that great man, to whom the country was indebted for so much of its glory, to remain in such a situation. Lord North fell in with the sentiments of the noble lord, in a manner that did him honour; and the whole House seemed to participate of a general pleasure in their approbation of them. An address was accordingly moved by Mr. Thomas Townshend, beseeching the King to make such a lasting provision for the family of the late Earl as his Majesty should think fit, as a mark of the sense the nation entertained of the services done to the kingdom by that able statesman. Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke both paid their tribute to the memory of the man, who, they said, had raised his country's glory to an unrivalled pitch. Upon this occasion, Colonel Barré stated, that his departed friend possessed the rare and happy talent of transfusing his own zeal into the souls of all those who were to have a share in carrying his projects into execution: it was, he added, a matter well known to many officers then in the House, that no man ever went into the noble Earl's closet, who did not feel himself, if possible, braver at his return than when he went in. He drew a comparison between the rewards bestowed on the Duke of Marlborough and those given to the Earl of Chatham. The former, after his first campaign, was honoured by his royal mistress with the ducal coronet, and had 5000*l.* a year clear money, settled on him, payable out of the Post-office. When, in 1706, he had gained the famous battle of

names, and I hope they will be too wise to transmit them with this stain to posterity. I have the

Blenheim, the manors of Woodstock and Wotton were granted to him, and a palace was built for him at the Queen's expense. When he lost his only son, the Marquis of Blandford, the Queen caused an act of parliament to pass to settle the family titles on his heirs female and their heirs, in order to secure to his posterity the 5000*l.* a year payable to the title, which the Marlborough family enjoy to this day. These were the princely rewards which that great officer had received for his signal services in the field; whilst a paltry nominal 3000*l.* a year was the only substantial one which Lord Chatham had received; and yet who would say, that England was less indebted to Chatham than to Marlborough? Lord Nugent applied to the deceased patriot the lines addressed by Pope to the uncle of the Countess of Chatham, —

“ And you, brave COBHAM, to the latest breath,
Shall feel your ruling passion strong in death:
Such in those moments as in all the past;
‘ Oh, save my country, Heaven!’ shall be your last,” —

and instanced his dying advice to his son, Lord Pitt, who was about to join his regiment at Gibraltar: — “ Go, my son! go whither your country calls you: let her engross all your attention; spare not a moment, which is due to her service, in weeping over an old man, who will soon be no more.” The motion was unanimously agreed to; and on the 20th, his Majesty having complied with the prayer of the address, a bill was brought in for settling an annuity of four thousand pounds upon the heirs of Lord Chatham to whom the title should descend. These marks of national gratitude were followed by a grant of twenty thousand pounds, for the payment of the debts incurred by Lord Chatham. The annuity bill passed through all its stages, in the House of Commons, without opposition. The following report of Mr. Thomas Pitt's speech, upon this occasion, is from the original manuscript in his handwriting: —

“ MR. SPEAKER,

“ In the near relationship in which I stand to the family that have received from this House such extraordinary and distinguished favours, I hope it will not be thought improper, if I cannot omit this opportunity

honour to be, with the most perfect respect and esteem,

Your Ladyship's most devoted
and obedient servant,

CAMDEN.

LORD CAMDEN TO THE COUNTESS OF CHATHAM.

Camden Place, June 4, 1778.

MADAM,

IF I had come home in time for the post on Tuesday night, I should have taken the earliest opportunity of apprizing your Ladyship of the happy success of Lord Chatham's bill; but I was

of expressing, in the name of the family, the high and perfect sense of gratitude they feel for all the flattering testimonies to the memory of the deceased.

"I am sensible that it would ill become me, were I to indulge my own feelings, by launching into panegyrics, either upon the dead or upon the living. The records of this House, Sir, will remain the most glorious monuments in honour of the former—the conduct of his posterity alone can prove that your bounty has not been ill bestowed upon his descendants. They are placed, through your liberality, above the temptation of interest; and if they should ever for a moment forget what they owe to the blood they spring from, the reflection of what has passed this day will be sufficient to recall them to their duty. They are in a peculiar manner the children of your adoption, the children of the public; and to the service of that public I trust they will devote themselves, as long as the name endures amongst us.

"The times, Sir, are times of danger. May the rewards so generously showered down upon the ashes of a deserving citizen awaken, in our minds, that ardent zeal, that pure and disinterested spirit of emulation, which, though the last resource of a brave nation, has never yet been found unequal to any difficulties, when once it becomes the prevailing passion of a country."

detained so long at the House, that I did not get home till eleven o'clock. The next day I knew your Ladyship would be acquainted with it from many quarters. However, upon my return into the country, I cannot omit troubling your Ladyship with my congratulation, which I have ordered my servant to leave, without waiting for any answer.

I confess, for four-and-twenty hours I laboured under the greatest anxiety, lest this opposition should have been secretly set on foot and abetted by some powerful quarter of the Court ; but, thank God, it turned out to be a very puny and contemptible effort of a few, and those of no note or consideration. The bill was warmly supported ; and I must do justice to the Rockinghams. They behaved handsomely upon the occasion ; not only by a summons of their friends, but in marking their approbation, by the Duke of Richmond's speaking in favour of the bill. THE LAST SPARK OF ENVY AGAINST THAT GREAT MAN'S REPUTATION IS NOW EXTINGUISHED ; AND HE IS DELIVERED OVER TO HISTORY, WHERE HIS FAME WILL BE IMMORTAL.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect and attachment,

Your Ladyship's most obedient
and faithful servant,

CAMDEN.

ON Tuesday, the ninth of June, all that was mortal of this GREAT MAN was consigned to the tomb. An unanimous vote of Parliament commanded a Public Funeral, and a Monument to his memory, in Westminster Abbey : upon which, the Inscription is as follows : —

“ERECTED BY THE KING AND PARLIAMENT
AS A TESTIMONY TO
THE VIRTUES AND ABILITY
OF
WILLIAM PITT EARL OF CHATHAM
DURING WHOSE ADMINISTRATION
IN THE REIGNS OF GEORGE II. AND GEORGE III.
DIVINE PROVIDENCE
EXALTED GREAT BRITAIN
TO AN HEIGHT OF PROSPERITY AND GLORY
UNKNOWN TO ANY FORMER AGE.
BORN NOV. 15, 1708 ; DIED MAY 11, 1778.”

A magnificent Cenotaph was also erected in Guildhall ; upon which, the following lines are engraved : —

“ IN grateful acknowledgment to the Supreme Disposer of events, who, intending to advance this nation, for such time as to His wisdom seemed good, to an high pitch of prosperity and glory, by unanimity at home — by confidence and reputation abroad — by alliances, wisely chosen and faithfully observed — by colonies united and protected — by decisive victories by sea and land — by conquests made by arms and generosity in every part of the globe — and by commerce, for the first time, united with, and made to flourish by war — was pleased to raise up, as the principal instrument in this memorable work,

WILLIAM PITT,

“ The Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, mindful of the benefits which the City of London received in her ample share in the general prosperity, have erected to the memory of this eminent Statesman and powerful Orator, this Monument in her Guildhall ; that her Citizens may never meet for the transaction of their affairs, without being reminded, that the means by which Providence raises a nation to greatness are the virtues infused into great men ; and that to withhold from these virtues, either of the living or the dead, the tribute of esteem and veneration, is to deny to themselves the means of happiness and honour.”

Nor was there wanting an affectionate Tribute of social love, as evinced by a marble Urn raised at Burton Pynsent, by Lady Chatham. Upon the pedestal of this Urn, which is now in the possession of the Duke of Buckingham, and is conspicuously placed in the gardens at Stowe, the following is inscribed:—

“ SACRED TO PURE AFFECTION
THIS SIMPLE URN
STANDS A WITNESS OF UNCEASING GRIEF FOR HIM
WHO
EXCELLING IN WHATEVER IS MOST ADMIRABLE
AND ADDING TO THE EXERCISE OF THE SUBLIMEST VIRTUES
THE SWEET CHARM OF REFINED SENTIMENT
AND POLISHED WIT
BY GAY SOCIAL CONVERSE
RENDERED BEYOND COMPARISON HAPPY
THE COURSE OF DOMESTIC LIFE
AND BESTOWED A FELICITY INEXPRESSIBLE
ON HER
WHOSE FAITHFUL LOVE WAS BLESSED IN A PURE RETURN
THAT RAISED HER ABOVE EVERY OTHER JOY
BUT THE PARENTAL ONE
AND THAT STILL SHARED WITH HIM.
HIS GENEROUS COUNTRY WITH PUBLIC MONUMENTS
HAS ETERNIZED HIS FAME.
THIS HUMBLE TRIBUTE
IS BUT TO SOOTHE THE SORROWING BREAST
OF PRIVATE WOE.”

On the front of the Urn is a medallion, with the head of Lord Chatham; and on the opposite side is another medallion, on which are the following words: —

“ TO
THE DEAR MEMORY
OF
WILLIAM PITT
EARL OF CHATHAM
THIS MARBLE
IS INSCRIBED
BY HESTER
HIS BELOVED WIFE.”

APPENDIX.

No. I.

COPY OF LORD CHATHAM'S PROVISIONAL BILL FOR SETTLING THE TROUBLES IN AMERICA.

[See Vol. IV. p. 393.]

"This Bill, though rejected here, will make its way to the public—to the nation—to the remotest wilds of America: it will, I trust, remain a Monument of my poor endeavours to serve my Country."

A Provisional Act for settling the Troubles in America,
and for asserting the supreme legislative Authority
and superintending Power of Great Britain over
the Colonies.

WHEREAS by an Act 6 Geo. 3. it is declared, that parliament has full power and authority to make laws and statutes to bind the people of the colonies in all cases whatsoever; and whereas reiterated complaints and most dangerous disorders have grown, touching the right of taxation claimed and exercised over America, to the disturbance of peace and good order there, and to the actual interruption of the due intercourse from Great Britain and Ireland to the colonies, deeply affecting the navigation, trade, and manufactures of this kingdom and of Ireland, and the British islands in America: now, for prevention of these ruinous mischiefs, and in order to an equitable, honourable, and lasting settlement of claims not sufficiently ascertained and circumscribed, may it please your most excellent Majesty that it may be declared, and be it declared by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the colonies of America have been, are, and of right ought to be, dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, and subordinate unto the British parliament, and that the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people of the British colonies in America, in all matters touching the general weal of the whole dominion of the imperial crown of Great Britain, and beyond the competency of the local representative of a distant colony; and most especially an indubitable and indispensable right to make and ordain laws for regulating navigation and trade throughout

the complicated system of British commerce, the deep policy of such prudent acts upholding the guardian navy of the whole British empire ; and that all subjects in the colonies are bound in duty and allegiance duly to recognise and obey (and are hereby required so to do) the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of the parliament of Great Britain as aforesaid.

And whereas, in a petition from America to his Majesty, it has been represented that the keeping a standing army within any of the colonies, in time of peace, without consent of the respective provincial assembly there, is against law : be it declared by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled that the Declaration of Right, at the ever glorious Revolution, namely, " That the raising and keeping a standing army within the kingdom, in time of peace, unless it be by the consent of parliament, is against law," having reference only to the consent of the parliament of Great Britain, the legal, constitutional, and hitherto unquestioned prerogative of the crown, to send any part of such army, so lawfully kept, to any of the British dominions and possessions, whether in America or elsewhere, as his Majesty, in due care of his subjects, may judge necessary for the security and protection of the same, cannot be rendered dependent upon the consent of a provincial assembly in the colonies, without a most dangerous innovation and derogation from the dignity of the imperial crown of Great Britain. Nevertheless, in order to quiet and dispel groundless jealousies and fears, be it hereby declared, that no military force, however raised, and kept according to law, can ever be lawfully employed to violate and destroy the just rights of the people.

Moreover, in order to remove for ever all causes of pernicious discord, and in due contemplation of the vast increase of possessions and population in the colonies ; and having a heart to render the condition of so great a body of industrious subjects there more and more happy, by the sacredness of property and of personal liberty, of more extensive and lasting utility to the parent kingdom, by indissoluble ties of mutual affection, confidence, trade, and reciprocal benefits, be it declared and enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, and it is hereby declared and enacted by the authority of the same, that no tallage, tax, or other charge for his Majesty's revenue, shall be commanded or levied from British freemen in America, without common consent, by act of provincial assembly there, duly convened for that purpose.

And it is hereby further declared and enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that it shall and may be lawful for delegates from the respective provinces, lately assembled at Philadelphia, to meet in general congress at the said city of Philadel-

phia on the 9th of May next ensuing, in order then and there to take into consideration the making due recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of parliament over the colonies as aforesaid.

And, moreover, may it please your most excellent Majesty, that the said delegates, to be in congress assembled in manner aforesaid, may be required, and the same are hereby required, by the King's Majesty sitting in his parliament, to take into consideration (over and above the usual charge for support of civil government in the respective colonies) the making a free grant to the King, his heirs, and successors, of a certain perpetual revenue, subject to the disposition of the British parliament, to be by them appropriated, as they in their wisdom shall judge fit, to the alleviation of the national debt: no doubt being had but this just free aid will be in such honourable proportion as may seem meet and becoming from great and flourishing colonics towards a parent country labouring under the heaviest burdens, which, in no inconsiderable part, have been willingly taken upon ourselves and posterity for the defence, extension, and prosperity of the colonies.

And to this great end, be it farther hereby declared and enacted, that the general congress (to meet at Philadelphia as aforesaid) shall be and is hereby authorised and empowered (the delegates composing the same being first sufficiently furnished with powers from their respective provinces for this purpose) to adjust and fix the proportions and quotas of the several charges to be borne by each province respectively towards the general contributory supply; and this in such fair and equitable measure, as may best suit the abilities and due convenience of all: provided always, that the powers for fixing the said quotas, hereby given to the delegates from the old provinces composing the congress, shall not extend to the new provinces of East and West Florida, Georgia, Nova Scotia, St. John's, and Canada; the circumstances and abilities of the said provinces being reserved for the wisdom of parliament in their due time. And in order to afford necessary time for mature deliberation in America, be it hereby declared, that the provisions for ascertaining and fixing the exercise of the right of taxation in the colonies, as agreed and expressed by this present Act, shall not be in force, or have any operation, until the delegates to be in congress assembled, sufficiently authorised and empowered by their respective provinces to this end, shall, as an indispensable condition, have duly recognised the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of the parliament of Great Britain over the colonies aforesaid: always understood, that the free grant of an aid, as heretofore required and expected from the colonies, is not to be considered as a condition of redress, but as a just testimony of their affection.

And whereas divers Acts of parliament have been humbly represented, in a petition to his Majesty from America, to have been found grievous, in whole or in part, to the subjects of the colonies, be it hereby declared by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the ad-

vice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the powers of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty courts in America shall be restrained within their ancient limits, and the trial by jury, in all civil cases, where the same may be abolished, restored; and that no subject in America shall, in capital cases, be liable to be indicted and tried for the same, in any place out of the province wherein such offence shall be alleged to have been committed, nor be deprived of a trial by his peers of the vicinage, nor shall it be lawful to send persons indicted for murder in any province of America, to another colony, or to Great Britain, for trial.

And be it hereby declared and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the said Acts, or so much thereof as are represented to have been found grievous, namely, the several Acts of the 4th Geo. 3. c. 15. and c. 34.; 5th Geo. 3. c. 25.; 6th Geo. 3. c. 52.; 7th Geo. 3. c. 41. and c. 46.; 8th Geo. 3. c. 22.; 12th Geo. 3. c. 24.—with the three Acts for stopping the port, and blocking up the harbour of Boston; for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay; and that entitled, “An Act for the better administration of justice,” &c.; also the Act for regulating the government of Quebec, and the Act passed in the same session relating to the quarters of soldiers, shall be and are hereby suspended, and not to have effect or execution, from the date of this Act. And be it moreover hereby declared and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the before-recited Acts, or the parts thereof complained of, shall be and are, in virtue of this present Act, finally repealed and annulled, from the day that the new recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of parliament over the colonies shall have been made on the part of the said colonies.

And for the better securing due and impartial administration of justice in the colonies, be it declared and enacted by the King’s most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, that his Majesty’s judges in courts of law in the colonies of America, to be appointed with salaries by the crown, shall hold their offices and salaries as his Majesty’s judges in England, *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. And it is hereby further declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the colonies in America are justly entitled to the privileges, franchises, and immunities granted by their several charters or constitutions; and that the said charters or constitutions ought not to be invaded or resumed, unless for misuser, or some legal ground of forfeiture. So shall true reconciliation avert impending calamities, and this most solemn national accord between Great Britain and her colonies stand an everlasting monument of clemency and magnanimity in the benignant father of his people; of wisdom and moderation in this great nation, famed for humanity as for valour; and of fidelity and grateful affection from brave and loyal colonies to their parent kingdom, which will ever protect and cherish them.

No. II.

[The conclusion of Mr. Pitt's letter to the Bishop of Gloucester, of September 10, 1763, (see Vol. II. p. 257.) having been fortunately recovered, the letter is here given entire.]

MR. PITT TO THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

From a rough draught in Mr. Pitt's handwriting.

September 10, 1763.

MY LORD,

IN addition to many former marks of your Lordship's goodness to me, I am honoured with a fresh and very unmerited instance of your regard, in the favour of a letter of the 4th, from Prior Park. Your Lordship's condescension on so delicate a subject is indeed much too great, in taking the trouble to mention to me the motives which determined you to advise and draw up the address from the cathedral of Gloucester.

The high station, and still higher consideration, which your Lordship so deservedly holds in the world, together with the peculiar delicacy of the subject, must draw on me the charge of temerity, if I presumed to exercise my own judgment on the propriety of this step. I will only venture to observe, my Lord, that it is singular, insomuch, that the cathedral of Gloucester, which certainly does not stand alone in true duty and wise zeal towards his Majesty, has however the fate not to be imitated by any other episcopal see in the kingdom, in this unaccustomed effusion of fervent gratulations on the peace.

Your Lordship will please to observe, that the doubt I venture to suggest, in point of propriety, turns, not on the merits of the peace, concerning which no one is more able than your Lordship to judge, but rests singly on a general notion, which I imbibed early, and which reflection and experience have strengthened into a fixed opinion in my mind; and it is this, my Lord, that the purposes of the state will be as well served, and that Christianity, of which your Lordship justly observes war to be the opprobrium, will surely be served much better, when ecclesiastical bodies do not go out of their way to mix in the contentious scenes of the political world. But I am insensibly running into the fault I meant to avoid; and as I feel I am in some danger of preaching a little sermon to your Lordship, and incurring the ridicule of the rhetor who discoursed of war to Hannibal, I will drop this predicating strain, not quite despairing of your Lordship's forgiveness, in consideration of a sincere intention.

I cannot conclude my letter without expressing my sensible concern at Mr. Allen's uneasiness. No incident can make the least change in the honour and love I bear him, or in the justice which my heart does

to his humane and benevolent virtues. You will, I am sure, pardon me, if I say, that I am sorry your Lordship is able to say you are the better *sleeper* of the two ; more especially as your Lordship's watchings have ever contributed so highly to enlighten and enlarge the commonwealth of letters. Be assured, that you have *there* no sincerer or more constant admirer, or one that can subscribe himself with more respect than I do,

Your Lordship's most faithful
and most obedient Servant,
W. PITT.

No. III.

DETACHED SENTENCES; FOUND IN THE HAND- WRITING OF LORD CHATHAM.

THE great end of religion is to make us like God, and conduct us to the enjoyment of Him.

It is of as great importance for a man to take heed what thoughts he entertains, as what company he keeps ; for they have the same effect upon the mind. Bad thoughts are as infectious as bad company ; and good thoughts solace, instruct, and entertain the mind, like good company : and this is one great advantage of retirement, that a man may choose what company he pleases, from within himself.

Manage all your thoughts and actions in such a manner as if you were just going out of the world. A man is seldom, if ever, unhappy for not knowing the thoughts of others ; but he that does not attend to the motions of his own is certainly miserable.

Watch against all fretful and discontented thoughts, which do but chafe and wound the mind to no purpose. To harbour these is to do yourself more injury than it is in the power of your worst enemy to do you. It is equally a Christian's interest and duty to learn, in whatever state he is, therewith to be content.

Before we let our thoughts judge of things, we must set reason to judge our thoughts.

Clothe your ideas in pertinent and well chosen words, deliberately pronounced ; or commit them to writing.

Let us not think it beneath us to exert ourselves against the least of God's enemies and our own; since it is a progress towards perfection which is required of us; let us think and act as if we thought it our duty to make this progress.

To be anxiously fearful what will become of us, and discontented and perplexed under the apprehension of future evils, whilst we are in the hands and under the care of our Father which is in heaven, is not to act like children. Earthly parents cannot avert from their children all the calamities they fear, because their wisdom and power are limited; but our All-wise and Almighty Father can.

That without faith it is impossible to please God, because without faith it is impossible to live a life of virtue, or to do such actions as are there recorded; and that by faith is meant an active vital principle, moving us to behave ourselves agreeably to faith.

Dangers and sad accidents do so beset us on every side, that the greatest circumspection could not secure us, did not his good Providence continually watch over us.

One means there is which physicians take notice of as very effectual for the preservation of health, which I cannot here omit; that is, a quiet and cheerful mind, not afflicted with violent passions, or distracted with immoderate cares, for these have a great and ill influence upon the body. Now, how a man can have a quiet and cheerful mind under a great burden and load of guilt, I know not, unless he be very ignorant or have a seared conscience. It concerns us, therefore, even upon this account, to be careful of our conversation, and to keep our consciences void of offence, both towards God and towards man.

That there can be no such thing as true faith without good works, any more than there can be a good tree without good fruit.

That believing in Jesus Christ acquits from the guilt of sins committed before such belief, and this merely in order to a better life for the future; which was St. Paul's frequent affirmation: but that believing in Jesus Christ does not acquit from the guilt of any sins continued in after this belief and during our Christian profession, but indeed extremely adds to it, as St. James in effect affirms, and as St. Paul taught.

“A fool’s wrath is presently known.” “Only by pride cometh contention ;” and a man would not know what mud lay at the bottom of his heart, if provocation did not stir it up. If your anger be soon kindled, it is a sign that secret pride lies lurking in the heart ; which, like gunpowder, takes fire at every spark of provocation that lights upon it. Pride and anger are as nearly allied as humility and meekness.

“Search me, O God, and know my heart : try me, and know my thoughts, and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting.”

It is ill-judged, though very common, to be less ashamed of a want of temper than of understanding ; but what is most dishonourable of all is, for a man at once to discover a great genius and an ungoverned mind ; because that strength of reason and understanding he is master of gives him a great advantage for the government of his passions.

Secret dispositions are criminal, in proportion to the degree in which the outward actions, which spring from them, transgress the bounds of reason and virtue.

Constitutional is the sin, which, when we would impose upon God and our consciences, we excuse and disguise with all imaginable artifice and sophistry ; but when we are sincere with both, we oppose first and conquer last.

“Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God :” plainly declaring, that our nature is so corrupted and defiled, that in order to our becoming his disciples, and worthy to partake of the privileges of his gospel, we must, as it is expressed in another place, “be created after God in righteousness and true holiness.”

Conversion, or regeneration, really implies a thorough change of the whole man, from the love and practice of sin to an habitual holiness of heart and life, ordinarily in the use of the means of grace, and always under the influence of the Spirit of God.

Virtue and real excellence will rise to the view of the world, though they be not mounted on the wings of ambition.

Paul speaks of men of false knowledge in very poignant terms ; “who, though they seem wise, yet,” says he, “must become fools before they are wise ;” want themselves to be taught what are the first rudiments and principles of wisdom.

“He that is slow to anger,” saith Solomon, “is better than the mighty.” I know the world calls them heroes who have made the greatest havoc and destruction amongst their fellow-creatures; who, to gratify their ambition and lust of power, have been the plagues and terror of their own species, spreading desolation and carnage wherever they went: whereas, in the judgment of true wisdom, he that yokes a stubborn lust, curbs a boisterous passion, and subdues an unruly appetite, yielding to nothing but the dictates of virtue and religion, obtains the greatest victory, and deserves the truest honour.

“To show out of a good conversation their works with meekness of wisdom;” to excel in all the graces that are truly ornamental to the Christian character, and by that means to obtain a good report of others, as well as the testimony of their own consciences; men should labour to make it appear that there is a correspondence between their temper and their principles, and that their religion is rather the complexion of their spirits than the external badge of their profession.

But nothing so effectually puts this malicious slander out of countenance, and evidences the divine original and heavenly tendency of religious principles and hopes, as when men of haughty, untamed, and brutal passions, by enlisting under its mild and gentle sway, from being the reproach, become the ornaments, of human nature.

Religious vanity or spiritual pride. — Let a penitent and contrite spirit be always my portion, and may I ever *so* be the favourite of Heaven, as never to forget that I am chief of sinners. I still prefer charity which edifieth, before the highest intellectual perfections of that knowledge which puffeth up.

Intemperate heat and passion injures and betrays the cause it is anxious to maintain. The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.

An eagerness and zeal for dispute, on every subject, and with every one, shows great self-sufficiency, that never-failing sign of great self-ignorance; and true moderation, which consists in an indifference about little things, and in a prudent and well-proportioned zeal about things of importance, can proceed from nothing but true knowledge, which has its foundation in self-acquaintance.

Some are apt to imagine, because they do not feel or know themselves to be guilty of drunkenness, adultery, fornication, or murder, or covet-

ousness, or dishonesty in their dealings, that therefore they are clean. But they are apt to forget the thoughts of pride and haughtiness, of revenge and implacability, of severity and ill-nature, of envy and malice, of anger and passion, of ambition and worldly grandeur, the frequent mis-spending of their precious time and the like. What is this, but to publish a religion to the world, which has no effect towards making any of the sons of men happy.

“I have sworn and am stedfastly purposed to keep thy righteous judgments. Thy testimonies have I claimed as mine heritage for ever ; and why ? They are the very joy of my heart.”

Real endeavours to enforce good impressions upon ourselves are a species of virtuous action.

Habits of perception and habits of action. An instance of the former is our constant and even involuntary readiness in correcting the impressions of our sight concerning magnitudes and distances, so as to substitute judgment in the room of sensation.

Imperceptibly to ourselves habits of the mind, like those of the body, are produced by repeated acts ; viz. those of self-government, attention, industry ; or of envy, wrath, revenge, &c., by indulgence, whether in outward act, or in thought or intention, *i. e.* inward act.

The true application of this doctrine is the practice of universal religion : for what is that but a constant affectionate sense of God upon the mind, with the dispositions which naturally arise from its governing our lives, such as gratitude, confidence, purposes of obedience to His laws, and resignation to His Providence, encouraged and animated by the lively expectation of His favour, of His daily interposing in our behalf to direct our affairs, and bring them to happy issues ? How is human life ennobled and exalted by this principle ? It becomes divine. The life of a man considered only as a rational creature in this world is, in comparison, but low and insipid. How vastly more sublime and important is it rendered, when God is taken into our thoughts, counsels, and actions ! This brings a mighty increase of light, liberty, and joy.

Private interest may screen and defend a bad administration, as well as attack or undermine a good one : in short, conspiring against any one part of the constitution in favour of another, or perverting to the support of national grievances the very means which were instituted to redress them, are destructive of the whole frame of the government, and are the proper characteristics of faction.

I shall only observe, that as he who confines his notions of faction to opposition made to the crown, reasons in an absolute monarchy in favour of the constitution, so he who confines them thus, reasons in a limited monarchy against the constitution.

National concurrence can be acquired only for good purposes, because public good alone can be a national motive.

The most plausible objections to such proceedings, by which well-meaning men are often made the bubbles of those who have the worst designs, arise from a false notion of moderation. True political moderation consists in not opposing the measures of government, except when great and national interests are at stake: to oppose upon any other foot is certainly faction; but it is likewise faction of the worst kind not to oppose at all, when points of the greatest &c.

Or if a just reflection was made, we may easily believe that it was soon stifled by that adulation which represents the most necessary precautions, the most just complaints, and the assertion of the dearest rights, as proofs of disaffection.

I reverence and love the whole frame of our wise Constitution; whereof the transcendent and sacred right to free and independent elections is the only sure basis.

Such persons, wherever they are, always carry their Country along with them in their breast. I mean those feelings for its general honour, and those large and comprehensive sentiments for the common happiness of the whole, which every where, and more particularly in our island, constitute alone just patriotism.

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